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ABSTRACT

It was the purpose of this study to describe and analyze the differences in value systems of the Dakota Indians and Western Civilization, and to suggest a probable explanation for the religious practices of present-day (1958) Pine Ridge Reservation residents (28 families) as a result of the conflict in values between the 2 societies. The method used to accomplish this was based on the assumption that the Pine Ridge Indians would express their primary values in response to a series of questions based on ideas commonly held in either the traditional Dakota or modern American culture. In this attempt to describe the value system of the Dakota Indians and to suggest an explanation for reservation religious practices, a shift was noted from the traditional Dakota values to the modern values of Western Civilization. This study revealed that the Dakota Indians had, to a large extent, lost the old system of social values which gave purpose and direction to their lives. Reactions to this state of affairs varied with each individual from stubborn maintenance of traditional values to rejection of all Dakota values and full acceptance of non-Indian values. The assumption of positions at either extreme may provide a relatively stable personality adjustment, but the individual who vacillates between the 2 value systems is likely to search for some sources of meaning in group-approved and recognition-giving activities, such as are available in marginal religions. (LS)

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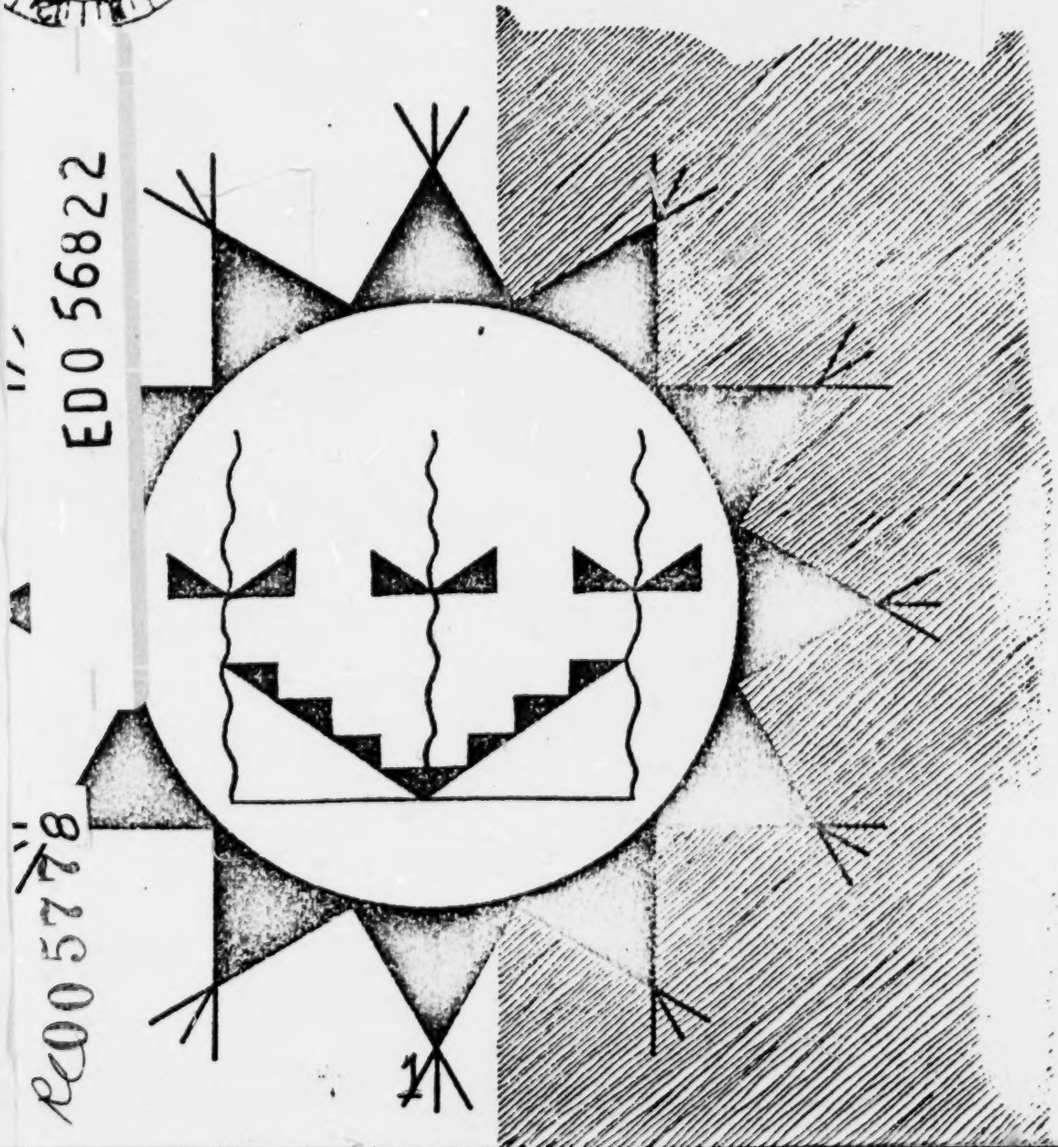

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The Dakota Indian Religion

A Study of Conflict in Values

Vernon D. Malan and Clinton J. Jesser[1]

I. Introduction

Religious beliefs have exerted substantial influence on the values of the Dakota Indians. In earlier days religious folklore infused every area of their daily lives. When the missionaries introduced Christianity to the tribes on the Great Plains, important changes began to take place. Values which conflicted with customary beliefs were interposed, but many of the traditional values were retained. In some cases, accommodation of conflicting values was attempted in marginal religious activities which combined elements of both the old and new religions. In other cases, the conflicts appeared insurmountable, and some individuals sought escape or succumbed to apathy.

A study of the present day values of these people requires some understanding of their traditional religion. Thus, Part II of this bulletin is designed to provide a systematic analysis of the religious background of the Dakota Indians. Here are some of the myths and legends, and the beliefs, practices, and ritual which dominated Dakota thinking at the time of initial contact with the Christian missionaries. In Part III the subsequent changes in Dakota values are discussed and analysed in historical perspective and in terms of the value conflicts which have resulted from the contact of these two different culture patterns. Statistical evidence from a study of two communities on the Pine Ridge Reservation is presented to support the cultural conflict thesis. Implications of the study are suggested in Part IV.

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II. Traditional Dakota Indian Religion

About 250 years ago, the Teton Dakota Indians arrived on the Great Plains after being driven from the Minnesota woodlands by the Chippewas. They gradually located west of the Missouri River, although they moved throughout the northern plains in pursuit of buffalo. While in Minnesota, they had been agriculturalists, but upon acquiring horses they changed from an agrarian way of life to that of the mounted hunter.

The Tetons traveled in seven bands, all united by kinship: Brule, Sans Arc, Blackfoot, Minneconjou, Two Kettle, Hunkpapa, and Oglala. Those living on the Pine Ridge Reservation today are descended mainly from the Oglala and Brule bands.

During the period between 1700 and 1850 the Teton Dakotas acquired most of the traits which we consider typical of plains Indian culture—kinship bands, Soldier Society, Sun Dance, geometric decorative art, horse and travois, tipi, and economic dependence on the buffalo.[2] All of these traits were bound together in their life pattern, which they symbolized in the camp circle, the stage for their cultural drama. Any attempt to describe the Tetons which fails to consider the unity of their culture cannot be completely accurate.

During the first half of the 19th century the Dakota Indians had extensive contacts with missionaries, frontiersmen, government officials, travelers, and explorers; many of these people recorded their impressions and descriptions of the Indian way of life. These accounts are used in this section, describing the traditional religion of the Dakotas, but are modified and systematized in accordance with more recent anthropological investigations. This description serves as background data for the study of cultural values which will follow. It is from this matrix of beliefs and practices that the values of the Dakota Indians were derived and which provided sacred sanctions for their value system.[3]

Myths and Legends

The background and rationalization of much of the Teton value system can be discovered in the stories told by the grandfathers to their grandchildren. These traditional myths and legends of the older generation were used to indoctrinate the younger generation with the basic values of Dakota society. The way in which the young Dakota derived moral lessons from this mythic material is illustrated by several typical stories.

A popular didactic story among the Dakotas concerns the mouse people who stored beans for their winter use. It was considered inhumane, wicked, and unjust to steal the beans without putting back some corn or other food, so that the

[2] Clark Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains*, p. 164.

[3] It is possible to understand Part III without reading this section if one is already familiar with traditional Dakota religious beliefs.

victims of the theft would not starve.

A certain woman plundered the storehouse of some Hintunka people (bean mice). She robbed them of their entire food supply without giving anything in return. The next night this woman heard a woman in the woods crying and saying.

"Oh, what will my poor children do now?"

It was the voice of the Hintunka woman crying over her hungry children.

The same night the unjust woman who had done the wrong had a dream. In her dream, Hunka, the spirit of kinship of all life, appeared to her and said:

"You should not have taken the food from the Hintunka people. Take back the food to them, or some other in its place, or else your own children shall cry from hunger."

Next morning the woman told her husband of this vision, and he said,

"You would better do as Hunka tells you to do."

But the woman was hard-hearted and perverse, and would not make restitution for the wrong she had done.

A short time afterward a great prairie fire came, driven by a strong wind, and swept over the place where the unjust woman and her family were camping. The fire consumed her tipi and everything it contained, and the people barely escaped with their lives. They had no food nor shelter; they wandered destitute on the prairie, and the children cried from hunger.[1]

The pipe, symbolic of peace and truth, held an important place in the mythology and ritual of the Dakotas. A man who touched the pipe to his lips was taking an oath that his word could be trusted.[3] In the Sun Dance preparation ritual the spiritual leader said to the scouts:

> You have taken up the holy pipe, and so you must now tell us with truth all that you have seen. You know that running through the stem of the pipe there is a little hole leading straight to the center and heart of the pipe; let your minds be as straight as this Way. May your tongues not be forked. You have been sent out to find a tree that will be of great benefit to the people, so now tell us truthfully what you have found."

[1] Melvin R. Gilmore, *Prairie Smoke*, pp. 127-129.

[3] James Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," *U. S. Bureau of Ethnology*, XIV, p. 1,063.

[4] Joseph E. Brown, *The Sacred Pipe*, p. 73.

A story once heard among the Dakotas concerned an old man who went out alone and stood on a high bluff overlooking the Missouri River. From his location the grandeur of the prairie, hills, and the mysterious river could be viewed to the far horizon. At this beautiful spot the old man had come to seek wisdom and spiritual guidance.

As the old man thus sat meditating and considering all the manifestations of life and power and mystery of earth and sky, he spied out upon the prairie a group of wolves trotting toward the river. When they reached the river, they plunged in and swam across to the other side, all but one who was now too enfeebled by age to dare try his strength against the swift and powerful current of the river.

This old wolf sat down upon the bank of the river and watched his companions as they swam across and trotted away out of sight on the other side. When they had disappeared from sight, he raised his muzzle toward the sky and mournfully sang in a man's voice the following song:

All o'er the earth I've roamed,
I've journeyed far and wide;
My spirit haste and go,
I'm nothing, nothing now,
I'm nothing, nothing now.

Missouri River, flow,
Thou sacred water flow;
My spirit haste and go,
I'm nothing, nothing now,
I'm nothing, nothing now.

After the old wolf had sung this song, he wearily made his way to the top of a hill and lay down in the warm sunshine, in the shelter of a rock, and there waited until his spirit went away.[7]

When the old men of the Dakotas found their strength ebbing with age, and felt that they could no longer follow the path of the warrior, they would often go alone to contemplate on the wisdom of their ancestors, and methods of teaching these values to their children. Sitting there in solitude they mused on brave deeds of the past, recalled their companions who had gone from them, and in their loneliness they would sadly sing this "Song of the Old Wolf."

As we all know, animals frequently played an essential part in Dakota legends. Helpfulness and consideration of others were values frequently stressed in these stories.

There was once a handsome young Teton, whose wife's father disliked him and plotted against him. He dug a pit within his lodge, covering it with skins. Then he invited his son-in-law to a feast. The son-in-law met a wolf, whom he saluted, asking him the way to the village. The young man was persuaded to recline on the skins, which gave way, precipitating him into the pit. The father-in-law and his two single daughters covered the skins with earth, and removed their tent elsewhere on the morrow, when all the people started on a journey. After some days, the Wolf who had met the man went to the deserted camping place in search of food. On reaching the place where the accident (?) had happened, he heard a human cry. So he dug away the earth, removed the

[7] Gilmore, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-138.

skins, and found the man whom he recognized. The wolf pitied him, and said, "As you did not kill me when we met, you shall now be saved." So he howled, and very soon many wolves appeared. They found a lariat, which they lowered into the pit, and by grasping the other end with their teeth, they pulled the man up. He was very grateful, promising never to harm a wolf. Just then a weeping woman appeared, gazing in surprise at the man, as he was very thin, looking like a ghost. She was his wife, and her heart was soon made glad when he told her of his rescue.[8]

Many pleasant stories were told regarding the cheery meadow lark which the Tetons liked to call "the bird of promise." Children took great delight in birds, insects, and all living creatures with which they were naturally familiar. It was not unusual for them to use living creatures for subjects of talk and play.

One little girl of the group was talking to the other children, her companions, about the meadow lark. As is quite common with Indians, even children, she made some drawings to illustrate her talk. On a wide bare place in the trail which wound its way across the prairie, she had drawn these pictures in the dust. In a circle about four feet in diameter she had drawn a representation of a camp circle of tipis. Among the tipis she had drawn the figures of dogs, as they would be seen usually in an Indian camp. Outside the circle she had drawn the figures of ponies, just as ordinarily they would be found grazing outside the camp circle.

Farther away she had drawn some figures of buffaloes. And some distance away up the trail on the other side, she had drawn a meadow lark on the wing as if it were up in the sky. A faint circle was drawn about the figure of the bird. From the center of the circle of tipis a zigzag line was drawn to the meadow lark in the sky.

The little girl was teaching her companions the relationship of living things in this world. She said: "The bird of promise is our friend. It likes to be around our dwellings, and likes to see our people happy. While it has been flying about over the prairie and about the camps of our people, it has been observing us and all living things on the earth. At daydawn it flies circling upward into the sky, when the light of the rising sun lights up the earth and sparkles on the dewdrops on the grass and the flowers. So it goes up and tells Wakantanka what is needed by our people, and by the animals and the trees and the flowers and all living things. And it comes back singing songs to tell each one of all these living beings what Wakantanka is going to do for that one on that day, whether tree or flower or human being, and even all living beings. If I have been well-behaving, I am glad and eager to hear what the bird of promise will sing to me when he comes back. But if I have been ill-behaving, I am afraid to hear what he will sing to me."[9]

The Dakota myths and legends frequently dwelt on the origin of their homeland. A typical explanation given for the formation of the

[8]James O. Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *U. S. Bureau of Ethnology*, X, p. 478.

[9]Gilmore, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-150.

badlands was that two tribes fighting over fertile land were rebuked by the Great Spirit who caused the lands to roll and shake. "The Great Spirit had taken away the lands that had caused warring among His children and had left to those He spared the evidence of His power and His punishment."[10] In all of these stories, as well as in all other myths and legends of the Dakotas, frequent admonitions were given to the youth to work hard, speak wisely and honestly, never complain, and be brave. These were among the chief values emphasized in Dakota society.[11]

Ceremonial Religion

Every religion includes three essential elements: (1) specific emotional responses; (2) certain practices and beliefs, and (3) ceremony and ritual associated with these responses. These components of religion may be regarded as forming an inseparable whole. The basic element in religion seems to be an emotional response to the supernatural. A person may, for example, have personal or intuitive experiences which cause him to feel that he should be honest. This specific feeling is reflected in his belief in honesty and avoidance of dishonest practices in his group activities. The belief and practice of honesty will usually be shared with other members of the group and will be reinforced by religious ceremonies. In order for these ceremonies to be meaningful, some of the ritual should be designed to teach habits of honesty. In other words, the conditioning of ceremonial ritual reinforces the belief and practices of honesty, and belief and practice are in turn based on the profound feeling that honesty is good and right.[12]

Emotional Responses

The religion of the Dakotas was based on an emotional response to a great power or spirit which inhabited everything in nature, their visible as well as their invisible world. Consequently, almost everything could become an object of worship. Special homage was rendered to the sun and the earth and the four cardinal directions, but under proper circumstances sacrifices were made to almost any material object.[13] There is some doubt concerning the Dakota belief in a supreme *Great Spirit* or all-powerful superhuman being, although this character is often attributed to the Dakota *Wakan Tanka*. But the idea of a supreme spirit may have been introduced by early missionaries in an attempt to accommodate the beliefs of the Dakota and Christian religions. For example, such may have been Lynd's purpose in describing the Dakota *Great Spirit:*

> Their ideas concerning the Great Spirit appear to be that He is the

[10] M. E. Gridley, *Indian Legends of American Scenes*, pp. 100-101.

[11] Marie L. McLaughlin, *Myths and Legends of the Sioux*, pp. 11-200.

[12] Frank Boas, *et. al.*, *Anthropology in North America*, p. 259.

[13] Paul Beckwith, "Notes on Customs of the Dakotas," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1886, p. 253.

> creator of the world, and has existed from all time. But after creating the world and all that is in it, He sank into silence, and since then has failed to take any interest in the affairs of this our planet. They never pray to Him, for they deem Him too far away to hear them, or as not being concerned in their affairs. No sacrifices are made to Him, nor dances in His honor. Of all the spirits, He is the Great Spirit: but His power is only latent or negative.[14]

The Siouan word *wakan* is apparently related to the widespread belief in some invisible force that animates the universe. *Wakan* was not stable, but could shift its focus from object to object, animate or inanimate. Under certain circumstances sacred places, equipment used in ceremonies, or human beings were for a short time endowed with supernatural power.[15]

> A stick or a stone is *wakan* and is used as an amulet; a place, and is used as a sacred grove; a formula, and by faithful repetition it will accomplish what is inaccessible to the techniques of everyday routine. Or it may be persons of particular attainments or in particular circumstances that are *wakan:* A seer who can foretell events or bring about wonderful cures, a warrior who has killed an enemy, a menstruating woman, the dead. Different civilizations regard as *wakan* different objects or aspects of life, sometimes in narrowly limited designated objects, sometimes very unsystematically, almost pantheistically. They are at one only in the universal recognition of the existence of this wonderful power. Always, moreover, the manipulation of this wonderful power, and the beliefs that grow out of it, are religion. They are elaborated by specifically religious techniques.[16]

The essential meaning of *wakan* was not definitely "sacred" or "holy" but "wonderful." Knowledge of the language supports this statement. *Wakanya*, an oft-used adverb, meant "wonderfully"; and *wakan washteya* was the usual way of expressing the superlative.[17] Like Christians, the Dakotas recognized spirits representing both good and evil. The divinities of good, however, were not necessarily deemed superior objects of worship. In fact, there was skepticism regarding the power of certain beneficent spirits. They were often considered weak and pretentious because of their inability to control the activities in the world. On the other hand, there was much greater respect accorded the power of evil divinities whose special delight was to exterminate man or to make him miserable. These demons of the darkness wan-

[14] J. W. Lynd, "History of the Dakotas." *Minnesota Historical Collections*, II. pp. 145-146.

[15] Ruth Underhill, "Religion Among American Indians," *Annals*, CCC XI (May, 1957) p. 128.

[16] Ruth Benedict, "Religion," in *General Anthropology* Franz Boas (ed.), p. 629.

[17] Boas, *Ibid.*, p. 630. The reference continues: "The most important things the White man brought were all compounded by the use of this adjective: *Miwakan*, a sword; literally, 'wonderful knife.' *Shunkwakan*, horse; literally, 'wonderful dog.' *Mazawakan*, a gun; literally 'wonderful iron.' *Miniwakan*, whiskey; literally, 'wonderful water.'

dered over the earth causing sickness and destroying the unwary. One such spirit, the Thunder Bird, governed simply by the desire to create misery, could strike down anyone at any time with his fire. He could even destroy the whole Dakota nation. Other evil spirits lured travelers to obscure places and strangled them and tormented others until they lay down in despair and died; caused the buffaloes to be seized by panic "and run for days with their noses to the wind, rendering it impossible to follow; and tortured the Dakotas in their hunger by bringing herds of buffaloes near the camp, which they no sooner started to pursue than the spirit drove the herds away."[18]

The beliefs regarding the soul of man were based on the four spirits of the human body.

> The first is supposed to be a spirit of the body, and dies with the body. The second is a spirit which always remains with or near the body. Another is the soul which accounts for the deeds of the body, and is supposed by some to go to the south, by others, to the west, after the death of the body. The fourth always lingers with the small bundle of hair of the deceased, kept by the relatives until it becomes a roving, restless spirit, bringing death and disease to the enemy whose country it is in.[19]

The place of abode of the souls of men apparently was not clearly established. They believed that the third soul was immortal, but did not concern themselves greatly with its final place of residence. Evidently, some Dakota also believed in the power to converse with the spirits of the dead.[20] Lynd claims that they frequently made feasts to these spirits in order to elicit information about distant relatives and friends. "Assembling at night in the lodge, they smoke, put out the fire, and then, drawing their blankets over their heads, remain singing in unison in a low key until the spirit gives them a picture."[21]

If it can be reconstructed from our fragmentary knowledge of their religion, the Dakota afterworld was probably a poorly defined shadowy place much like the Old Testament Sheol. It was certainly not the "happy hunting grounds," apparently the Christian ideal for an Indian heaven. As the soul departed on its last journey into the unknown, the mourners supplied food and goods for it. The Tetons, likewise, kept the forelock of the deceased's hair, which permitted his "ghost" to retain his usual place in the household circle. The following explanation of Teton burial practices was given by Dorsey:

> Long ago the people buried some men on a hill and then removed camp to another place. Many winters afterwards a man visited this burial place, but all traces of the graves had disappeared. So many men came and dug far down into the hill. By and by one said, "A road lies here." So they dug in the direction and made a fire underground. And there they found a

[18] Lynd, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-156.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 155-156.

[20] Dorsey, *op. cit.*, pp. 484-485.

[21] Lynd, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

tunnel large enough for men to walk in by stooping, with many similar intersecting ones. They followed the main one and finally came to a place whither a strange animal, the Walianksica, had dragged the corpses. For this reason the Lakota became unwilling to lay their dead in the ground, so they began to bury on scaffolds which could not be reached by beasts of prey. At the present day the Teton gives three reasons for not burying in the ground: (1) animals or persons might walk over the graves; (2) the dead might lie in mud and water after rain or snow; (3) wolves might dig up the bodies and devour them.[22]

There was no sharp division between the spirits of human beings and of animals, plants, and natural phenomena in Dakota beliefs. All things possessing life or giving life were treated with equal respect. The Dakota hunter who killed an animal for food felt that only the outward form of the immortal spirit was consumed; and if the remains were disposed according to the accepted ritual, the spirit would then return in new dress to serve him again. It was believed that the spirits in all things could help or harm the individual, depending on the observation of proper behavior toward them.[23]

Reported in the literature on the Teton Dakotas is a wide variety of other religious conceptions relating to death. Several additional examples may be cited:

> In order that the ghost may travel the ghost road in safety, it is necessary for each Lakota during his life to be tattooed either in the middle of the forehead or on the wrists. In that event his spirit will go directly to the "Many Lodges." The other spirit road is said to be short, and the foolish one who travels it never reaches the "Many Lodges." An old woman sits in the road and she examines each ghost that passes. If she can not find the tattoo marks on the forehead, wrists, or chin, the unhappy ghost is pushed from a cloud or cliff and falls to his world. Such is the lot of the ghosts that wander o'er the earth. They can never travel the spirit road again; so they go about whistling, with no fixed abode.[24]
>
> The Starry Land across the heavens, known to us as the "Milky Way," is called by the Indian, "The Way of Souls." The long branch is believed to be the path along which the good pass on to the Wakan Tanka, but the shorter one is the path for the wicked, fleeing along which, in their thoughtless haste they fall over, and are precipitated into a frightful abyss. There the helpless beings find themselves in torture such as can not be described, and are made to endure the sufferings of a still worse, and "second death."[25]

These versions of the afterlife also illustrate the differences in beliefs found from one Lakota band to another.

The commission of a serious crime such as the killing of another Dakota required that the guilty per-

[22] Dorsey, *op. cit.*, p. 486.
[23] Underhill, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130.
[24] Dorsey, *op. cit.*, p. 486.
[25] Frances Halley, *Once Their Home*, p. 224.

son atone for his misdeed. If he succeeded in appeasing the vengeful relatives of the victim, and if he made sacrifices to the spirits, the murderer was considered redeemed and could once again eat, smoke, and speak in the followship of his people.[26]

The circle was a sacred symbol among the people of the Dakota nation. Everything in nature—the sun, the earth, the moon, the sky, trees, plants, and the human body—was round except stone, and stone was the implement of destruction.

> The edge of the world is a circle; hence the circle is a symbol of the world and of the winds which travel to us from all points on the edge of the world. The sun and the moon, which mark the day and the night, travel in circles above the sky; therefore the circle is a symbol of these divisions of time, and of the year, and so of all time.[27]

The Dakotas believed that the circle of nature was created by the supernatural to be used by them in their daily lives: their tipis are made round; in camping, their lodges are set in a circular line; in ceremonial activities, their people sit in a circle and move in a circle. Since the circle was a symbol of the tipi, it suggested the shelter and comfort of home and the security of the family. In decorative art, the undivided circle stood for the whole world; the circle filled with red was the sun; filled with blue, it was the sky; and divided into four parts, it was the four winds.[28]

Those individuals who were believed to have received special powers from the supernatural were the shamen or medicine men of the Dakotas. There was a sharp distinction between the shaman possessing supernatural powers for treatment of the sick and controlling the elements and the other lay members of the band. Most important was the inspiration received by the "holy" man from vision quest and ordeal. The average Indian might also hope for the visitation of spiritual power, but his experience with the supernatural was less intense and prolonged. Moreover, the shaman was usually provided with several powers resulting from contact with more than one spirit, and he might also have learned some sleight of hand with which to accompany exhibitions of spiritual power. Although the medicine man did not obtain this role by inheritance or memorized ritual, the son or relative of a shaman was more likely to be inclined to specialize in such spiritual activities than other members of his band.[29]

The vision played an important part in the concept of disease cure, especially in the case of some powerful ailment that refused to yield to simple treatment. The Dakota medicine man made no attempt to treat a severe sickness unless he had

[26] Henry H. Sibley, *Ironface: The Adventures of Jack Frazier, Frontier Warrior, Scout and Hunter*, eds. T. C. Bleven and S. Davidson, p. 200.

[27] Gilmore, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

[29] Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

first received the remedy in a dream; but, once he received his vision he felt obligated to give treatment with medicinal herbs, sweat bath, and ceremony.[30] One of these practitioners is quoted by Densmore.

> In the old days the Indians had few diseases, and so there was not a demand for a large variety of medicines. A medicine-man usually treated one special disease and treated it successfully. He did this in accordance with his dream. A medicine-man would not try to dream of all herbs and treat all diseases, for then he could not expect to succeed in all nor to fulfill properly the dream of any one herb or animal. He would depend on too many and fail in all. That is one reason why our medicine-men lost their power when so many diseases came among us with the advent of the white men.[31]

The shaman's chief function was curing illness thought to result from the malign influence of a foreign body which had entered the patient. The therapeutic value of his treatment largely depended upon relieving the patient of the fear caused by the supposedly evil influence. Thus the shaman used rubbing, blowing, smoking, and other ceremonies and occasional trickery in order to convince the patient that the evil spirit had been dispelled.[32] Clearly, modern scientific medical skill was lacking, but the procedure around the sick had a sensible rationale.[33] Thus it may be said that:

> The medicine-man was a true benefactor of his people in that his work was founded upon and promoted the Indian ideal of brotherhood, and all service rendered to fellow beings was for the good of the tribe. Such wisdom and "magic power" as he had achieved must be shared, as were food and clothing, with his fellow man. He made no charge for his helpfulness in ministering to the sick, for the comforting songs he sang, nor for the strength he gave them; and when a medicine-man was called, he never was known to refuse the summons.[34]

The other members of the Dakota nation, those not specializing in the treatment of illness, were still quite concerned with obtaining the influence of a guardian spirit to watch over and guide their health and destinies. Generally, young men sought supernatural aid through a vision, and it was possible for anyone to have a spirit appear in a dream, promising him help in emergencies in return for a special offering, prayer, or observance of taboos. For example, the devotee received instructions from the spirit to compose a secret "medicine" song or to gather articles in a sacred bundle known only to himself and his guardian spirit. A man's "medicine" was guarded with his life, for it was considered a very powerful aid against

[30] William T. Corlett, *The Medicine Man of the American Indian and His Cultural Background*, p. 121.

[31] Frances Densmore, *Teton Sioux Music*, pp. 244-245.

[32] Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

[33] Halley, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

[34] Luther Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, p. 203.

enemies. In order to maintain its potency, the favored man could not violate any of the obligations made when acquiring the "medicine," and any idiosynerasy in his behavior might be attributed to the displeasure of the guardian spirit.[35]

In time of danger or despair, the spiritual well-being of the Dakota warrior depended on his guardian spirit. In all of nature, the Dakota could find mystic influences on whom he might rely for succor and guidance. As a result, the Indian had a profound spiritual affinity with nature, a feeling accurately captured by Francis Parkman, the historian.

> Among those mountains not a wild beast was prowling, a bird singing, or a leaf fluttering, that might not tend to direct his destiny or give warning of what was in store for him; and he watches the world of nature around him as the astrologer watches the stars. So closely is he linked with it that his guardian spirit, no unsubstantial creation of the fancy, is usually embodied in the form of some living thing—a bear, a wolf, an eagle, or a serpent; as he gazed intently on the old pine tree, might believe it to enshrine the fancied guide and protector of his life.[36]

Practices and Beliefs

The emotional responses in Dakota religion were associated with definite practices and beliefs. Therefore, whenever anyone had been in contact with supernatural power, he must voluntarily withdraw from human society and refrain from bodily activities, so that he might protect uninitiated members of the group from possible danger, since it was believed that his power might injure the unblessed. Particularly, seclusion for the purpose of avoiding spiritual contamination was most important during the life crises of birth, puberty, and death. It was thought that when these uncontrollable biological events occurred, the Indian was subject to an unusual power from which all must be safeguarded.[37]

For example, an expectant mother retired to a prepared lodge where she was attended by skilled female relatives who had ceremonially protected themselves. Even before the birth, songs were composed and a pole with eagles' down attached to the top was dedicated in the infant's future home. Shortly after the birth, the mother brought the infant home, and then the transfer of character, naming, and ear-piercing ceremonies were held.[38]

Occasionally, young children were selected for the *Hunka* cere-

[35]DeCost Smith, *Indian Experiences*, p. 131.

[36]Frances Parkman, *The Oregon Trail*, p. 222.

[37]Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

[38]Dorsey, *op. cit.*, p. 482. "The ceremony transferring character was usually as follows: Should the infant be a boy, a brave and good-tempered man, chosen beforehand, takes the infant in his arms and breathes into his mouth, thereby communicating his own disposition to the infant, who will grow up to be a brave and good-natured man. It is thought that such an infant will not cry as much as infants that have not been thus favored. Should the infant be a girl, it is put into the arms of a good woman, who breathes into its mouth."

mony, if they were believed to be sinless. Singing and praying, a council of great formality and solemnity gathered. In its ceremonials, the spirits invoked were to keep the child pure, free from the vices of men, in order that his saintly life might provide a perfect example to his people. The necessity of living a life of unquestioned morality is emphasized in the advice to the child elected for *Hunka*. The honor accorded the child allows no one "to presume upon him in the slightest, much less to offer an insult to him." In order that "this person of the elect, may be distinguished from others of the tribe, he wears his paint in narrow, perpendicular, even stripes." If one were challenged regarding his position, he would ask: "How many times have you been made a *Hunka*, and by how many horses?" At each *Hunka* ceremony, horses were presented and given to the unfortunate as an act of mercy.[39] Giving away goods in honor of others provided both the giver and receiver with additional prestige. As in our culture, the most disinterested type of charity was exhibited by giving to someone who clearly was not expected to give another gift in return. The charity gift was most suitably given in honor of children who were involved in *Hunka*, or in naming and ear-piercing ceremonies as well.[40]

When the young Dakota female reached the age of puberty, she was considered ready for marriage and childbirth, another important life crisis. Thus she had to seclude herself from the camp circle in order that the strong supernatural influence might not endanger the men in the camp.[41]

At puberty, the young men were likewise ready to be initiated into adult society, and had to seek supernatural aid to guide their careers and ensure success. Parkman's description of the vision quest of a young Dakota from a family renowned for their warlike exploits is vivid.

> When a very young man he submitted to the singular rite to which most of the tribe subject themselves before entering upon life. He painted his face black; then seeking out a cavern in a sequestered part of the Black Hills, he lay for several days, fasting and praying to the Great Spirit. In the dreams and visions produced by his weakened and excited state, he fancied, like all Indians, that he saw supernatural revelations. Again and again, the form of an antelope appeared before him. The antelope is the graceful peace spirit of the Ogallalla, but seldom is it that such a gentle visitor presents itself during the initiatory fasts of their young men. The terrible grizzly bear, the divinity of war, usually appears to fire them with martial ardor and thirst for renown. At length the antelope spoke. He told the young dreamer that he was not to follow the path of war; that a life of peace and tranquillity was marked out for him; that henceforward he was to

[39] Halley, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-219.

[40] Jeannette Mirsky, "The Dakota" in *Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples*," Edited by Margaret Mead, p. 412.

[41] Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

guide the people by his counsels and protect them from the evils of their own feuds and dissensions. Others were to gain renown by fighting the enemy; but greatness of a different kind was in store for him.[42]

The seclusion and fasting, and the numerous ordeals were vital religious practices that not only demonstrated the youth's courage but also helped gain the spirits interest. The vision, as Parkman's account suggests, usually followed a standard form: an animal appeared in human guise, and this guardian spirit gave instructions in the form of songs, told where fetishes could be found or how they could be found, and taught the necessary ritual. A holy man provided guidance to the supplicant, interpreted the hallucination, and warned against inappropriate or false spirits.[43]

The guardian spirit usually conferred great power on his favorite warrior, permitting him to escape from the enemy by great skill or strength or even by being made invisible like a ghost or the wind. The spirit also helped the Dakota warrior to obtain implements of war, constructed according to divine prescription and charged with spiritual power, and provided him with special paints for the protection of his body. These favors were dependent upon the proper performance of several rituals: vapor baths, fastings, chants, and prayers.[44]

Throughout adult life, numerous other practices, taboos, and proscriptions of a religious nature continued to govern the Dakota. Religion permeated every aspect of Dakota life, including visual art. The drawings usually provided a personal history of the artist's exploits and accomplishments, and, of course, many pictures depicted some supernatural experience or force.[45] In conjunction with such essential activities as the hunt the divinities were thanked or supplicated by proper sacrifices. On more important occasions, such as the Sun Dance, religious ceremonies lasted several days and included purification in the steam bath, fasting, silence and seclusion, self-torture, and sacrifice.[46]

The Tetons were constantly faced with the possibility of sudden death in warfare. Members of a dead warrior's family reacted characteristically to his death. The mourning family distributed the deceased's weapons and horses to relatives and friends, and they might publicly honor him by giving away their own belongings until their lodge remained almost bare. The females in the family indicated their grief by pathetic wailing, cutting their hair, wearing old and ragged clothing, and even gashing themselves with knives. The body of the dead warrior was painted, dressed in his best clothing, draped in robes, and placed on a scaffold for burial.[47]

[42]Parkman, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-128.

[43]Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

[44]Dorsey, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

[45]Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

[46]Dorsey, *op. cit.*, pp. 435-457.

[47]Paul Beckwith, "Notes on the Customs of the Dakotas," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, 1886*, p. 253.

The death of a relative was followed by a ceremony designed to retain his ghost. Something that belonged to the deceased, such as a lock of hair, was placed in an elaborately decorated receptacle and hung from a frame outside the lodge. Then for a few months the relatives prepared for a great feast, denying themselves necessities, and avoiding all evil, in order to prevent sickness or suffering which the spirits may use as retribution for non-compliance with the religious rules. Food and "feast lodges" were prepared, long sticks were placed in the ground to represent the ghost, and gifts contributed by relatives were exhibited around the poles. After the feast had been ceremonially carried out, the ghost departed in luxury needing the care of his bereaved relatives no longer.[48]

Ceremony and Ritual

Many Dakota ceremonies were held at appointed times when a number of bands could come together for the common purpose of seeking the aid of the supernatural spirits. These gatherings were usually held in the late summer when food was plentiful in the camp circles.[49] Much of the time was spent in ceremonial dancing and singing. The meaning of the ceremonial was denoted by the content of the songs and the form of the dance. Although many songs were social or recreational, such as those devoted to fighting, hunting, praise, brotherhood, or love, they usually possessed some supernatural or "inspirational" elements.[50] The best songs were composed in visions in accordance with the instructions of a guardian spirit.[51]

The rites and ceremonies of this annual summer convocation culminated in the elaborate Sun Dance, consisting of a series of preparatory and devotional rites merged into the semblance of a unified whole.[52] The preliminary rites included the choice of a mentor to prepare the candidate, the purification of the candidate in the sweat lodge,[53] the lament or cry for a vision,[54] the erection of the altar and the installation of the buffalo skull, the meditation and consecration of the candidate, and finally, the mentor's instructions

[48]Halley, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-216.

[49]Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

[50]Densmore, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[51]*Ibid.*, p. 59.

[52]Paul Radin, *The Story of the American Indian*, p. 316.

[53]Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 31. This rite is explained as follows: "The rite of the *onikare* (sweat lodge) utilizes all the Powers of the universe: earth, and the things which grow from the earth, water, fire, and air. The water represents the Thunder-beings who came fearfully but bring goodness, for the steam which comes from the rocks, within which is the fire, is frightening, but it purifies us so that we may live as *Wakan-Tanka* wills, and He may even send to us a vision if we become very pure."

[54]*Ibid.*, p. 44. "Every man can cry for a vision, or "lament"; and in the old days we all—men and women—"lamented" all the time. What is received through the "lamenting" is determined in part by the character of the person who does this, for it is only those people who are very qualified who receive the great visions, which are interpreted by our holy man, and which give strength and health to our nation."

to the candidate on rules of behavior.[55]

The Sun Dance proper, a collection of disjointed but yet spiritually unified ceremonies of devotion to deities, was divided into two periods, each usually requiring four days. During the first period, the camp was organized; each tipi was assigned its traditional place in the camp circle, and the heralds and marshals were appointed. Old friends and relatives were reunited in harmony and communion by smoking the pipe. Selection was made of the children who were to participate in the "earpiercing" ceremony or in the procession to the sacred tree. The females who wished to serve as attendants to the candidates or to chop the sacred tree were also chosen. Towards the end of the first phase, the women selected for these honors were permitted a feast in the dance lodge. Finally, the mentors of the candidates went to a nearby hill to sing and pray to the spirits of the four winds.[56]

At sunrise on the first day of the second four-day period—called the holy time—a symbolic charge of the warriors against the evil spirits on the site of the ceremonial camp, accompanied by war cries and shooting of arrows, freed the grounds of evil gods, in order that the sacred lodges could be erected in the ceremonial camp. The older men, selected for their knowledge of traditional ritual, supervised the location of the sacred lodges and tree. Scouts searched out a special cottonwood tree and marked it with red spots on four sides. A dancing area was built in a circle of forked poles in the ground and covered with pine boughs, and when this work was completed a buffalo feast completed the day's activities.[57]

The ceremonies relating to the capture and trimming of the sacred tree occupied the second day of the holy time. The capture of the tree by the warriors was followed by binding sweet grass, sage, and buffalo hair wrapped in chokecherry sticks to the fork at its top. The procession to bring the tree to the ceremonial camp was formed while the warriors counted *coup* on the tree; the purest female then cut it down, and ritually declared it sacred, thus enabling the processsion to carry the sacred tree into the ceremonial camp where it was then trimmed and painted.[58]

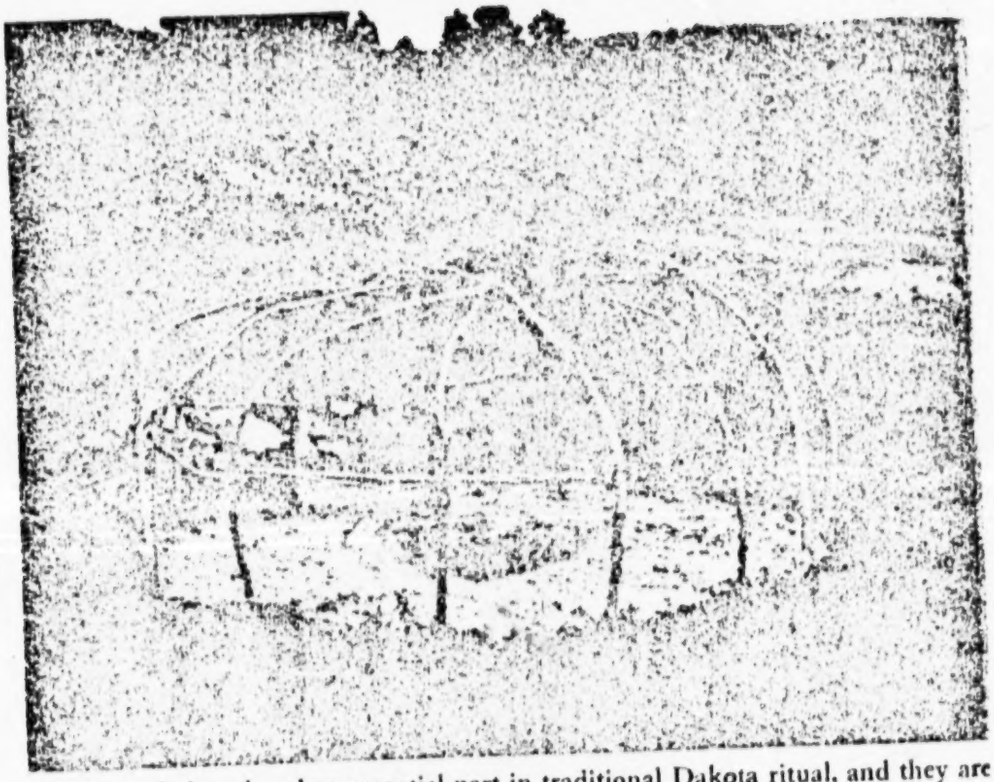
The next step was the raising of the sacred tree and the victory dance, which leveled the ground for the great dance to the sun. In the meantime, the candidates assembled in the sacred lodge to smoke, burn sweet grass, compose their own songs, and purify themselves with prayers and sweat baths. On the fourth morning of the holy time, the whole camp dressed in their most beautiful costumes and greeted the rising sun from a hill top close by. The young warriors then raced their ponies down the hill

[55] Paul Radin, *The World of Primitive Man*, p. 176.

[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 176-177.

[57] Embree, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-151.

[58] Radin, *The World of Primitive Man, op. cit.*, p. 178.



The sweat lodge played an essential part in traditional Dakota ritual, and they are still occasionally seen on the Pine Ridge reservation.

and around the sun lodge. They were followed by the women and children who thereupon gathered to watch the procession of warriors carrying the buffalo head from the sacred lodge to the dancing area.[59] The children chosen for the "ear piercing" ceremony were called out, and this rite was performed. The final rite was the climatic ordeal of the candidates—their captivity, torture, and escape—as they danced gazing at the sun.[60] This ordeal was described by General Curtis, Commander at Fort Sully in the 1880's in these words:

> On yesterday, June 1st, the dancing was delayed at intervals to allow tortures to be inflicted. Two or three men stood over the devotee with needle and knife, very quietly performing penance, according to the customs of all these sacerdotal rites, as follows: First, they cut the arms in several places by sticking an awl in the skin, raising it and cutting out about half an inch; this is done on both arms, and sometimes on the breast and back. Then wooden setons (sticks about the thickness of a common lead pencil) are inserted through a hole in the skin and flesh. Then cords or ropes are attached to these sticks by one end, and to the pole at the other end, the victim pulling on the ropes till the seton sticks tear out the flesh and skin. I saw one with two setons

[59] Embree, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-152.
[60] Radin, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

thus attached to his breast, pulling till it seemed to draw the skin out three inches, and finally requiring nearly his whole might to tear out the seton.

One, painted black, had four ropes attached at once. The pulling out is done in the dance, the pulling carried on in the time of the music by jerk, jerk, jerk, and the eye, head and front all facing the sun in the form of supplication. One had four setons attached to four dry buffalo head bones. These were all strung and suspended to his flesh by ropes that raised each head some three feet off the ground. He danced hard to tear them out, but they would not break the skin. One came off the weights (each at least twenty-five pounds weight), not tearing out by their own weight or motion, the devotee gave a comrade a horse to take hold of the rope and tear out the setons. While these were being thus tortured, their female relations came in and had pieces cut out of their men. Still as soon as the victim could be prepared, the music was renewed, and the dismal dance went on, victims' bodies now mingled with blood, paint and setons.[61]

The Sun Dance as a whole fuses the vision quest and a series of prestige-getting patterns which appealed greatly to the Dakota people. The cooperative activities of warfare, hunting, and sharing were symbolized in all the ceremonies; and the role of the proven virgin suggesting that women, too, could achieve high status, was of great significance.[62] The religion of the Dakotas was epitomized in these collective symbols of the Sun Dance: the various dances and taboos, the regalia, and elaborate ritual.[63]

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[61]Pond, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-238.
[62]Mirsky, *op. cit.*, p. 408.
[63]Edward Sapir, *Culture, Language and Personality*, pp. 127-128.

III. A Study of Dakota Values

It is an axiom in modern sociology that the integration of human societies is a product of the thinking of man; that is to say, it is not the result of man's physical or biological traits. Man's thinking has produced interests, purposes, and goals, and acceptable means of achieving them. When these values are shared by a group of people, consistent and predictable behavior is possible, and the individuals are psychologically bound together in an association of "like-thinking" members. It is this common and uniform thinking and behavior of a group of people that enables us to identify a "culture."

The shared behavior in the culture of any group of people is supported by a governing moral code. The code comprises a number of values which embody the expected and desirable ways of achieving the socially established goals. These moral values consciously or unconsciously govern much of the behavior of the members of the association. Some values, considered more important than others, are rigidly enforced and the sanctions imposed upon violators are strict and harsh. These core values make up the moral code or value system of a people. But as we know, values often express ideals, which make clear what the behavior of the individual ought to be; thus they may not always be consistent with actual behavior. Yet, despite such inconsistency, observable behavior is usually a reasonable reflection of the accepted value system, especially in well-integrated societies.

> The anthropologist . . . sees culture as a goal-oriented system. These goals are expressed, patterned, lived out by people in their behaviors and aspirations in the form of values—objects or possessions, conditions of existence, personality or characterological features, and states of mind, that are conceived as desirable, and act as motivating determinants of behavior.[64]

A value system may then be defined as an established cluster of accepted behavior patterns for achieving the goals which the community has prescribed as constituting the "good way of life." A consistent value system facilitates the smooth functioning of group activities, and as it decreases friction among group members creates a sense of well-being in their minds.

Each society has a unique value system. Thus when an individual in any society says that he is doing the "right" thing, he simply means that he is conforming to the value system of his group. The Dakota Indians, for example, fought to preserve their homeland from intruders because this was the only "right" action consistent with the values of the society to which they belonged. When they were forced to surrender to the Army of the United States, they were faced with a new value system incompatible and irreconcilable with their own.

The frontiersmen expressed the culture of 19th century Western

[64] George D. Spindler, "Education in a Transforming American Culture" *Harvard Educational Review*, XXV (Summer 1955) p. 145.

Civilization of which the values were different from those of the Dakotas. These white men, a varied group demonstrating the vigorous inconsistency of Western culture, were convinced that they were fully justified in aggressively imposing their value system on others. As a result, the Dakota people were not only forcibly exposed to a contradictory value-system, but also subjected to intense value conflicts.

Purpose of the Study

It is the purpose of this study to describe and analyze the differences in the value systems of the Dakota Indians and Western Civilization,[66] and to suggest a probable explanation for the religious practices of present day Pine Ridge Reservation residents as a result of the conflict in values between the two societies. The method used to accomplish this purpose is based on the assumption that the Pine Ridge Indians will express their primary values in response to a series of questions based on ideas commonly held in either the traditional Dakota or modern American cultures. If in answering these questions, the respondents tend to approve the values of both cultures, the hypothesis is that they are more likely to exhibit some form of marginal religious behavior[66] as a result of the unresolved value conflict.

Thus, restated, the hypothesis of this study may be expressed as follows: The responses of Pine Ridge residents to a series of questions based on traditional Dakota culture, and modern American culture, reveal conflicts in those values expressive of marginal religious participation. Answers indicating approval of both value systems suggest greater participation in religious activities, but those indicating approval of one value system suggest lesser participation. This thesis can be summarized in a formula:

Dakota Values + American Values ⟷ Value Conflict → Marginal Religious Participation[67]

The rest of this bulletin is organized on the basis of this hypothesis. The next sections deal with the traditional value system, the effect of American values on Dakota society, and the forms of adjustment to value conflict found in marginal religions. A report of the findings regarding the value choices and religious participation of Pine Ridge residents follows and the last section suggests some social implications of this study.

[66] Western Civilization in this study refers to the form of culture possessed by the frontiersmen on the American Great Plains.

[66] Marginal religious activity refers to any spiritual belief or practice which combines elements of traditional and Christian religions.

[67] This formulation is not a true mathematical equation, but rather a description of logical relationships. American values are regarded as dominant and Dakota values subordinate. Marginal religious participation is one of many possible methods of adjustment to value conflict.

Values in Dakota Society

The religion of the Dakotas, apparent in every function of their daily life—in their literature and art, as well as their whole socio-economic complex – established patterns of expected ethical behavior. Thus it would be impossible to disentangle religious behavior from the setting of Dakota society. Especially during the periods of a life crisis, such as birth, puberty, sickness, or death, religious rites contributed to social stability, as they served the functional purpose of integrating the total culture pattern.[68] Such integration is suggested by the concept of *wakan*, which represents the power of the spirits: "Every object in the world has a spirit and that spirit is wakan." This force is greater than mortal mankind; immortal, it binds and unifies the whole world into a complete circle.[69]

This religious view of the world exerted considerable influence upon the individual in Dakota society, shaping his ethical beliefs and behavior into a common pattern and permitting only slight deviations between ideals and practices. Thus the seven behavioral norms which are described in this section represent the ideal values and action of the Teton Dakota society.

Generosity

As early as 1820 the Dakotas were characterized by Schoolcraft as "a brave, spirited, and generous people."[70] The ideal of generosity was highly valued, and appeared to be based on the fact that the benefit of the group was unconditionally valued above that of any individual.[71] This communal principle may have arisen from necessity. Since migratory people needed a safe minimum of property, but not more than they could carry with them, these people who engaged in the buffalo chase were dependent upon the generosity of the luckiest and most able hunters. Generosity thus became such an important focus of training and prestige that the most despised man was he who deviated even slightly from the ideal sharing pattern.[72]

During times of general abundance in the Dakota camps, there were no cases of individual privation. The weak, the aged, and even the indolent were all permitted to share in the spoils of the buffalo hunt, and as long as there was any food in the camp even the helpless old woman would not perish from starvation. The idea that the food belonged to a single individual could not even be expressed in the Dakotan language. It was not possible to say "my meat" or "my buffalo"; rather one said, "the meat that is in my tipi." The possessive pro-

[68] J. H. Steward, *Theory of Culture Change*, pp. 139-141.

[69] Radin, *The World of Primitive Man, op. cit.*, pp. 53-54.

[70] Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journal*, edited by Mentor L. Williams, p. 202.

[71] Robert J. Havighurst and Bernice L. Neugarten, *American Indian and White Children*, p. 111.

[72] Erick H. Erickson, "Observations on Sioux Education," *The Journal of Psychology*, VII (January, 1939), p. 117.

noun used to express "my tipi" or "my horse" implied an object of faforitism rather than ownership. These attitudes suggested by linguistic expression were substantiated by behavior. Should anyone be in need, those with a surplus would not have to be reminded very often of their obligation to give. Refusal to share would have branded one as "not a true Dakota."[73]

The trait of generosity was also apparent in the practice of hospitality. Every caller was given whatever courtesy-food was available even if he had just eaten. The food was graciously accepted by the visitor, and what was not eaten immediately was taken home for later consumption. This courtesy-food or *wateca* was taken in a bowl, which was returned with a conventional phrase of thanks.[74] Sharing food and shelter was, of course, the basis of the hospitality pattern extending to all relatives. Since all relationships were widely extended, kinship included not only the camp circle, but the whole Dakota nation. Therefore, as a result of this all-inclusive "code of kinship," most things were mutually shared.[75]

Integrity

The Dakotas thought that dishonesty of any kind was extremely disgraceful. Moreover, if a man attempted to misuse his authority, or if he immodestly boasted or swaggered, he was ridiculed for this attempt to misrepresent his importance with the saying, "His face cover is dead." Since the Dakotas indicated modesty by hiding the face in a robe or by using some "cover" of reticence, this cover was considered "dead" and ineffective when modesty had passed away. Truth was deemed such a highly valued norm that even a young man who boasted of his successful exploits was guilty of an extremely unwise indiscretion.[76] A person regarded as unreliable and deceitful was referred to in this question: "Did you not see his palate?" The reference is to the striped palate of the trickster in Dakota mythology.[77]

Some essentials of the unquestionably honorable behavior of the Dakotas have been described by General Nelson A. Miles, a prominent frontiersman. He stated that there were no means of securing valuables or highly prized personal equipment, "but for one Indian to enter the lodge of another without being bidden or welcomed would be regarded as a highly dishonorable act, and for one to take that which belongs to another of the same tribe would be looked on as a crime deserving of death."[78]

The Dakota opinion was that there must be no dishonesty in achieving recognition or status.

> Any position gained by an individual in his band was due solely to

[73] Boas, *op. cit.*, p. 346.
[74] Ella Deloria, *Speaking of Indians*, p. 47.
[75] South Dakota Department of Public Instruction, *Indians of South Dakota*, p. 45.
[76] Luther Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, pp. 159-160.
[77] Boas, *op. cit.*, p. 596.
[78] Nelson A. Miles, *Personal Recollections and Observations*, pp. 311-312.

his own abilities and efforts. No attachment or relationship could place individuals or give them power; no luster could be borrowed and no circle crawled into by bowing and paying homage. Every honor gained, from scout to chief, and by those who took the ceremony of Corn Dance or Sun Dance, was gained on the expressd willingness to serve the members of the tribe.[79]

Courage

The traits of bravery and fortitude in the Dakota male were very much admired. Similar respect and esteem were accorded the females for their chastity.[80] Aggressiveness was predominantly a male characteristic, since trophies and prestige were the rewards of performing feats of bravery against the foe, acquiring potent supernatural aid, giving away property, or inflicting self-torture. The powerful drive for the recognition of courageous acts even caused overly-brave Dakotas occasionally to disrupt carefully planned ambushes or buffalo hunts in order to perform an unusual feat of valor.[81]

Naturally, the greatest deeds of courage were performed by the younger warriors who depended on their strength and skill to defend themselves and prevent harm to others. These "braves" were physically able to withstand the torture of the enemy and to move quickly and quietly over long distances in a short time if they were able to escape the enemy. The Dakotas regarded them as we do medieval knights. According to the Dakota code of honor, they had to be kind to the poor and needy, protectors of the women and children, and trained in true politeness and gallantry.[82]

The young men could achieve the greatest honors only by engaging in the dangerous activities relating to intertribal warfare. The best training in the virtues of the successful warrior—courage, cunning, and patience—was obtained in the expeditions to drive off the horses of the enemy. Stealing horses was thus an honorable occupation, particularly as a measure of reprisal, since it enriched those who excelled and deprived the enemy of property indispensable to his safety.[83] These virtues were of such paramount importance in warfare, that, even in time of peace, youthful warriors played dangerous pranks on the enemy in order to develop their proficiency no less than to test the vigilance of the opposition.[84] Their stealth and skill in concealment, their wariness in preparing and executing plans, their courageous attack and defense, their sharp hearing and unerring sight, their expert mastery of the horse, and their fearlessness made the Dakotas unequaled warriors and therefore, dreaded enemies.[85]

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[79]Standing Bear, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

[80]Fred R. Eggan (Editor), *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, "The Underlying Sanctions of Plains Indian Culture," by John H. Provinse. p. 359.

[81]George Devereux, *Reality and Dream*, p. 70.

[82]Densmore, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

[83]Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[84]Halley, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

[85]*Ibid.*

Sociability

In Dakota society, friendly visiting, joking, and conversation were particularly desirable activities of the older people. Groups of older men frequently sat themselves in a circle in the evening and engaged in smoking and conversation. The reserve and dignity usually observed in council were replaced by an attitude of light merriment and informality; and, as Parkman has noted, in this social circle, "if there was not much wit, there was at least a great deal of laughter."[86]

Sociability was an important form of sublimation of the fierce aggression that typified the young Dakota warriors. And the patriarchs, after their years of strenuous activities of hunting and fighting, functioned primarily as peacemakers and prevented intergroup conflict. These older men, peaceful and benevolent, were respected for their mature judgment and ability to promote better social relations within the camp circle.[87]

In each group there were a few elderly Dakotas who commanded the respect of their people because of their authentic personal qualities. These people might have possessed a nominal authority, but their position depended more on the honors they had obtained through their courage and enterprise on the warpath and their membership in a numerous and respected family. They might be treated with the dignity of leaders, but they assumed none of the outward signs of rank or honor. These respected men did not necessarily possess the most property, and in some cases they even impoverished themselves in order to ingratiate themselves with other people by giving them presents. No sanctions permitted the leaders to enforce their authority; therefore it was necessary for them to seek their following through the devotion and respect of the other members of the band. A pleasant social relationship with friends and descendants was one of the chief means of achieving and maintaining this influence.[88]

Kinship

The character of the extended family in Dakota society was an essential factor determining the position that an individual held in the band. The success of a man's prospects depended in large part on a powerful family that could assist him in an expedition or help him settle his quarrels. Moreover, by the mechanism of adoption and ceremonial brotherhood, relationships which resembled a vital kinship might be established between two individuals who were unrelated or very distantly related. This extension of kinship made the two almost inseparable: "they ate, slept, and hunted together, and shared with one another almost all that they possessed."[89]

The affection of one member of a Dakota family for another was perhaps best expressed in the indulgent and watchful care of a mother for her child. Love of kindred was

[86] Parkman, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-206.
[87] Devereux, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
[88] Parkman, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125.
[89] *Ibid.*, p. 220.

also apparent when sickness entered the lodge. The family would devote all their arts and skill to aid their ailing kinsman. They also sought the treatment of the shaman and his supernatural powers. Finally, a close relative might "gather his blanket about him, and without a word or sound pass out of the lodge, and go away up into some mountain or hill, and there stay for days alone," where he would appeal to the spirits "without eating or drinking, but with most sorrowful moaning and wailing," to spare the sick member of his family.[90] The death of a child had an effect far more poignant than that of any other tragedy that might befall Dakota parents.[91]

Mrs. Stephen R. Riggs has paraphased a lament of a Dakota mother which is a fine example of parental tenderness and devotion:

> *Me choonkshee! Me choonkshee!* (My daughter, my daughter) alas, alas, my comfort has departed, my heart is very sad. My joy is turned to sorrow, and my song to wailing. Shall I never behold thy sunny smile? Shall I never hear the music of thy voice? The Great Spirit has entered my lodge in anger, and taken thee from me, my first born, and my only child. I am comfortless and must wail out my grief. The pale faces repress their sorrow, but we children of nature grieve out our anguish.
>
> The light of my eyes is extinguished; all is dark. I have cast from me all comfortable clothing, and robed myself in skins, for no clothing, no fire, can warm thee, my daughter. Unwashed and uncombed I will mourn for thee, whose long locks I can never more braid; whose cheeks I can never again tinge with vermilion. I will cast off my tangled hair, for my grief is great. *Me choonkshee! me choonkshee!*
>
> How can I survive thee? How can I be happy and you a homeless wanderer to the spirit-land? How can I eat if you are hungry? I will go to the grave, with food for your spirit. Your bowl and spoon are placed in your coffin, for use on the journey. The feast for your playmates has been made at the place of your burial. Knowest thou of their presnce? My daughter! My daughter!
>
> When spring returns, the choicest of ducks shall be your portion, sugar and berries also shall be placed near your grave. Neither grass nor flowers shall be allowed to grow thereon. Affection for thee will keep the little mound desolate, like the heart from which thou art torn. My daughter, I come, I come —I bring you parched corn; oh, how long will you sleep?
>
> The wintry winds wail your requiem. The cold earth is your bed, and the colder snow your covering. I would that they were mine. I will lie down by your side, I will sleep once more with you. If no one discovers me, I shall soon be cold as thou art, and together we will sleep that long long sleep from which I can not wake.[92]

When anything important happened to her children, the mother was always present to share their pain or pleasure. That is one measure of the closeness of the Dakota mother to her family.

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[90]Halley, *op. cit.*, p. 197.
[91]Kunigunde Duncan, *Blue Star*, p. 182.
[92]Halley, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-199.

The friendly and loving attachments of the family unit were found with only slightly less intensity in the whole band. There was little quarreling over property, and also very little greed; equality and justice were primary traits of all social relationships. Indeed, the smooth functioning of their cooperative kinship system was thought by the Dakotas to be the very basic value in their way of life.[93]

Self-control

Although the Dakotas were usually characterized by the frontiersmen as fierce and unmanageable, the evidence indicates that before their experience with the aggressive tactics of the United States military forces in the West they were hospitable and dignified in their demeanor towards not only friends but also strangers.[94] For instance, Jonathan Carver, one of the explorers who had first observed them, stated that the Dakota Indians were "extremely circumspect and deliberate in every word and action," and that nothing hurried "them into any intemperate warmth." He went on to remark that they were "remarkably cautious, taking care not to betray on any account whatever their emotions."[95]

Also, the requirements of the traditional Dakota religion encouraged the individual to manage his actions carefully, except during certain ceremonial activities when some emotional release was normally expected. True, religious experiences usually occurred in a highly impressionistic dream-fantasy, but the instructions received by the visionary were always designed to discipline his behavior in his conscious life. Ritual itself, as in all religion, is a system of routinizing and controlling behavior, and such is the view that can be taken of the Dakota religion.

> He appears to deem the senses everything, the ideal nothing; and though there is no more imaginative being in existence than the Indian, yet it seems an essential idealism, having reference only to reality. He will play with ideas in a practical form—follow the most fantastic trains of thought with a ready vigor and strong originality; but the train vanishes, and the amusement is over. Express as truth a single thought beyond his reason, or in apparent conflict with the evidences of his senses or his own hereditary beliefs and a stereotyped expression of incredence will invariably pass over him.[96]

The practical nature of the Dakota religion, suggested in the above remarks by a missionary, was also to be seen in their reasons for worship. The reason for sacrifice or prayer was always a real life situation or crisis. A warrior desiring success on the warpath approached the proper deities by self-sacrifice, preceded by fasting, penance, and purification. Or if death appeared in his family, he propitiated the spirits of darkness by fasting and sacrifice.[97]

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[93] Duncan, *op. cit.*, p. 193.
[94] Miles, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
[95] Jonathan Carver, *Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America*, pp. 237-238.
[96] Lynd, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-151.
[97] *Ibid.*, p. 170.

Wisdom

Knowledge of the world in which they lived was an all-inclusive Dakota value, reflecting their reverence for everything in nature. They regarded all living plants and animals "as partners in the wonderful and mysterious quality of life." A major portion of their children's education was devoted to the world of living things. They were taught botany, zoology, geography, and conservation of resources in a practical way suited to Great Plains living. The preservation of the balance of nature, rather than the exploitation of a species of plant or animal for temporary gain, was a major goal in Dakota values.[98]

Their enlightened ideas concerning propriety in social relationships might be considered additional evidence of Dakota wisdom. The foresight and discretion of the older tribal members, to which the young warriors deferred, frequently prevented trouble from arising between rival bands and even between the Dakotas and hostile groups. Schoolcraft recorded an occasion on which he was warned of approaching danger by an elderly leader. The old man gave Schoolcraft his gun and accoutrements and said, "Take my gun also, as I perceive you have none of your own and depart with it to the land of your countrymen, but linger not here, lest some of my young men who are panting for the blood of their enemies, should discover your foot steps in our country, and fall upon you."[99]

The patterns of cooperative living in Dakota society were well designed to keep individual conflict at a minimum, but this did not mean that strict conformity was demanded in all areas of human life. There are certain areas, such as warfare, the vision quest, and the formation of friendship societies, in which individual initiative was clearly stressed. Thus the warriors were able to achieve a degree of spiritual freedom which would not have been possible in a society entirely dominated by stereotyped formulas of group living.[100]

The behavioral norms and social and religious values of the Dakota Indians were intricately bound together in their total value system. Mythological and ceremonial elements reinforced basic beliefs which, in turn, were internalized by the individual members of Dakota society. When these beliefs appeared in the attitudes and actions of the majority of these people, they could be regarded as the behavioral norms and values.

Values in Western Civilization

The value system of the Dakota Indians described in the preceding pages is consistent and functionally integrated. But the value systems of Western civilization, on the contrary, are only loosely associated and vary greatly from one group to another. Internal consist-

[98] Gilmore, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[99] Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

[100] Radin, *The Story of the American Indian, op. cit.*, pp. 307-309.

ncy of values may likewise be relatively unimportant. The contrast between Dakota and Western society is evident in the value conflicts suffered by those Dakotas who are marginal to the two cultures.

In this section, the results of the contact between the "technic-order" of Western society and the "moral order" of Dakota society will be examined.[101] A brief analysis of the technic-order in very general terms will be followed by a discussion of the moral order. The final part of this section will be devoted to a study of the contacts of the Dakota moral order with the technic-order of Western civilization.

The Technic-Order

The characteristics which distinguish Western civilization from earlier societies are not definitely established, and it is difficult to determine at exactly what point a simple society is transformed into a civilization. For the purposes of this study the distinction between a simple and complex society is based on the attachment of the members of a civilization to interest and territorial groups rather than attachment to small kinship groups. In civilization the main focus of control is the overall state, although other controls may operate on a limited local basis. The system of control is the technic-order, explained by Redfield as follows:

> The bonds that co-ordinate the activities of men in the technical order do not rest on convictions as to the good life; they are not characterized by a foundation in human sentiments; they can exist even without the knowledge of those bound together that they are bound together. The technical order is that order which results from the mere utilization of the same means. In the technical order men are bound by things, or are themselves things. They are organized by necessity or expediency.[102]

Members of the moral order are bound primarily by common and shared values, but in the technic-order their values may be different as a result of their varied associations in society. Thus, for example, business values may conflict with religious values, family values may conflict with community values, political values may conflict with values of personal friendship, and so on. These value conflicts, end products of the dynamic forces of civilization, complicate Western civilization immeasurably.[103]

The transition from a simple moral to a complex technic-order has resulted in a change from a well-knit social system to "a multitude of social groups, competitive interests, poorly defined social relationships, social anonymity, a confusion of norms, and a vast extension of impersonal control agencies designed to enforce rules which increasingly lack the moral force which rules receive only when they grow out of emotionally felt community needs."[104] The technic-order is fur-

[101]This terminology is borrowed from Robert Redfield, *The Primitive World and Its Transformations*, p. 15.

[102]*Ibid.*, p. 21.

[103]Robert MacIver, *The Web of Government*, p. 430.

[104]Thorsten Sellin, *Culture Conflict and Crime*, pp. 59-60.

ther characterized by ways that are rational, expedient, and utilitarian; purposive change and individual gain are considered more important than hewing to tradition. Since relationships are impersonal in the technic-order, laws are necessary instruments for maintaining order. Change from a predominantly moral order to a technic-order is rarely pleasant. Most of the cultural contacts suggest the difficulty of assimilation, because extermination or eviction or subjugation is the rule and conversion the exception.[105]

The Moral Order

The moral order is the primary source of unity in small early groups. In folk or tribal societies, the essential order is based on "the organization of human sentiments into judgments as to what is right."[106]

The moral order is the foundation of all societies and remains in command as long as the value system is based on sentiments, such as love of tradition, respect for family, and communion with nature. Through the process of social interaction, common understanding of what is right develops and expectations become structured. These values comprise a moral order, and adherence to the norms of this order tends to coordinate men's activities. Since man is greatly dependent on other men for his existence, a breach of the moral code is considered a grievous wrong, a threat to the welfare of the whole group.[107]

The moral order is usually found in preliterate, non-specialized, culturally homogeneous groups. Kinship was typically the basis for social organization in such groups. Through the intimacy and warmth of their primary relationships, the members internalize the moral values and the individual strains toward consistency in all areas of life.

> One cannot but admire the well-rounded life of the average participant in the civilization of a typical American Indian tribe; the firmness with which every part of that life—economic, social, religious and aesthetic—is bound together into a significant whole in respect to which he is far from a passive pawn.[108]

The highly integrated and consistent value system is a significant factor in the apparent lack of individual deviation in early societies The individual knows that the single set of norms shared by all member of his society guides him to the only acceptable ways of behaving. He is not faced with an alternative value system or with contradictory norms therefore deviation would require radical change from tradition and serious consequences for the individual.

It is difficult to distinguish between religious and other activities in a society dominated by the mora order. In such a society, religion i inextricably interwoven with ever pattern of individual behavior. I fact, it may be inaccurate to ind

[105] Redfield, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

[106] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[107] William G. Sumner, *Folkways*, p. 60.

[108] Edward Sapir, "Culture, Genuine c Spurious," *American Journal of Sociol ogy*, XXIX (January, 1924), p. 414.

icate religion merely as one area of Dakota life, since religious rituals and beliefs had permeated the whole range of their social activities. Thus in their overall value system there was a delicate interdependence which demanded strict adherence to all subordinate values. One value could not be laid aside in lieu of another, because both were harmoniously synthesized in the unified moral order.

Phases of Culture Contact

In his analysis of technic and moral orders, Redfield describes the logic of historical change from early to modern societies. Mekeel has described the historical contacts between the moral order of the Dakota Indians and the technic-order of Western civilization. From the non-Indian point of view, three periods of such contacts are indicated. (a) "Rising action" from 1700 to 1850 was devoted to the fur trade, but relations between the Tetons and frontiersmen became more and more strained because of immigration. (b) The "crisis" from 1851 to 1878 was one of warfare resulting from the conflict over control of Dakota hunting grounds and destruction of game. (c) The "falling action" from 1878 to the present found the Dakotas restricted to reservations and forced to begin the process of organized assimilation.[109]

Rising Action (1700-1851). The culture of the Dakota Indians had been evolving for many generations before their first contacts with Western civilization. Their culture was geared to the soil and climate of the upper Midwest, and the economic conditions of their way of life. They had worked out ways of meeting emergencies, and could easily adapt themselves to a new environment on the Great Plains or to a new pattern of horsemanship and buffalo hunting.[110] The Dakota hunter aspired to perfection in order to be assured of the health, courage, and good fortune which he needed to face his dangerous tasks. Thus the Dakota religion was neatly tailored to provide the spirit with the power that enabled one to become a man among his people.[111]

The introduction of an alien religion such as Christianity was certain to create confusion for both the Dakota Indians and the Christian missionaries. The latter were suspicious of their "red brothers" and were highly doubtful of their own safety. Before he rested easily in a Dakota village Reverend John Williamson had to be assured that the Dakotas never broke "the laws of hospitality by killing a fellow guest."[112]

The lack of understanding resulting from differences in language, religious beliefs, and social practices was partially overcome by the Dakota regard for the sacredness of all religions. They listened reverently when men of God preached in an unknown tongue or sang their

[109]H. Scudder Mekeel, *A Short History of the Teton-Dakota*, p. 140.

[110]Stanley Vestal, *New Sources of Indian History*, p. 315.

[111]Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

[112]Winifred W. Barton, *John P. Williamson: A Brother to the Sioux*, pp. 88-89.

strange, mournful old-time hymns.[113] Father De Smet gives an interesting example of the Dakota regard for the little understood Christian religion.

> Then he invited me to speak again to the Great Spirit, (to say grace), I began in the name of the Father and of the Son, etc., and immediately all present lifted up their hands toward heaven; when I had concluded they all struck the ground. I asked the chief what they meant by this ceremony. "When we lift up our hands," said he, "we signify that all our dependence is on the Great Spirit, and that he in his fatherly care provides for all our wants: we strike the ground to signify that we are only worms and miserable creeping beings in his sight."[114]

The success of early missionary activities among the Dakotas was limited by cultural and physical difficulties which caused these devoted ministers no end of misery. Reverend Stephen Riggs recorded that his request to the Dakota warriors to join his church was rejected in these words: "Your church is made up of women; if you had gotten us in first, it would have amounted to something, but now there are only women. Who would follow after women?"[115] Another difficulty arose over the conflict between the Christian and Dakota marriage practices.

> Shortly after the arrival of these men, Mr. Williamson preached a strong sermon on the duty of Christian marriage. At the close, he called upon all who were ready to come forward and be united in marriage. A number came forward in a bunch. Upon counting them he found that there were sixteen men and fifteen women. It took some time to get them paired off so he could tell which was the odd man. He asked the man, "Where is your wife?" He replied, "She is not here. She is in the tent. She does not want to get married, but I do." The man was quite disappointed to learn that it took more than one to consummate a marriage ceremony. The other couples were happily married.[116]

The actions of the fur traders, often a cause of considerable concern to the early missionaries, created further difficulties. The traders frequently married Indian women according to tribal traditions, but they failed to obtain the sanction of the church. They were unlikely to promote a stable family, moving about the vast territory and using liquor as a means of promoting their trade.[117] In this latter practice the trader has been described as going to the Indian camp, and giving the liquor gratis; and "after making the Indians drunk, he trades with them, dilutes the rum with water, and ends by getting all they have for very little."[118]

Another source of great difficulty between the missionaries and the Indians was the continued treat-

[113]Bernard De Voto, *Across the Wide Missouri*, p. 225.
[114]Reuben G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, Vol. XXVII, p. 152.
[115]Stephen R. Riggs, *Mary and I: Forty Years with the Sioux*, p. 89.
[116]Barton, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-105.
[117]Grace L. Nute (ed.) *Documents Relating to Northwest Missions, 1815-1827*, p. 156.
[118]*Ibid.*, p. 170.

ment of illness by a native medicine man. The missionaries regarded the "medicine" of the Dakotas as mere heathen superstition.[119] The "holy man" of the Dakotas understood the medicinal properties of various herbs which were used for their therapeutic value. But the missionaries were unwilling to recognize their effectiveness, despite the favorable testimony of army surgeons and others that even in cases abandoned as hopeless by the medical authorities, the Dakota medicine man might effect a remarkable cure.[120]

It must be admitted that not only misunderstanding but bias was often apparent in the missionary ranks. For example, the missionaries disapproved the mourning practices which followed the death of a Dakota warrior. The old men of the Dakotas chided them for their intolerance: "The ducks and the geese and the deer," they said, "when one is killed, make an outcry about it, and the sorrow passes by. The Dakotas, too, like these wild animals, make a great wailing over a dead friend--they wail out their sorrow, and it becomes lighter; but you keep your sorrow – you brood over it, and it becomes heavier."[121] Another example of such intolerance is found in this reply of a superior to a request for guidance from a missionary.

> Since you went so far as to be present at the superstitious rites of the Indians in their attempt to heal a sick child, it would have been better and it would have accorded better with your pastoral dignity to have inveighed against the performance and to have enlightened those poor blind ones by some argument within their comprehension, rather than to have refused coldly to remain to the end. A miraculous healing performed by a holy missionary would have been a still better argument. Why did you not stop all the uproar? Why did you not throw yourself on your knees? Why did you not with tears call the name of the Lord for this child? Instances are not lacking when God listened to His faithful ministers in such cases for the redemption of the savages.[122]

As a supplement to their religious proselytizing, the missionaries usually conducted schools for the Dakota children. In some cases, the Indian parents resisted attempts to take the children to the schools; they ridiculed or reproached those who learned to read; or they asked that their children be paid for attending. This idea apparently occurred to them when they learned of the custom of rewarding students for regular attendance.[123]

The material values of the trader and missionaries were sources of additional distrust among the Dakotas, who were unaccustomed to accumulating goods for mere possession. To the Dakota, accumulation stood for selfishness and lack of self-restraint, since all goods were tacitly available for distribution to any member of the band who needed them. Non-Indian values, on the

[119]Barton, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-112.
[120]Beckwith, *op. cit.*, *pp.* 245-246.
[121]Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
[122]Grace L. Nute, *Documents Relating to Northwest Missions, 1815-1827*, p. 239.
[123]Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

The small churches or missions located in nearly every community serve as a reminder of the work of the early missionaries.

other hand, made it possible for a man to accumulate beyond any foreseeable needs, and even to covet and destroy land held by the Indians: such greed, writes one Dakota, "fathered the cruelty which the Indian suffered. Yet, the amazing thing is that the Indian is the one who bears the charge of being cruel."[124]

Further, when the Dakotas discovered that Christianity was an exclusive religion, requiring them to relinquish the practices of their ancestral faith, they steadfastly opposed it. At first, they showed their opposition by refusing to send their children to school, distrusting any missionary enterprise, or resisting passively. Later, their hostility crystallized and became an organized determination to drive the missionaries out of their territory. Generally, however, they attempted to discourage the missionaries by stealing their horses and killing their cattle. But this line of treatment failed to dislodge the more persistent and devoted missionaries, such as John Williamson, who held on for over 4 years, although at times he was reduced to hauling firewood with milk cows.[125]

Crisis (1851-1878). Contrary to much that has been written about them, the Dakotas did not fight to gain territory or conquer other peoples. In fact, as has been indicated, their ideological goals being social harmony and peace, all the warriors respected the symbols of peace, despite their anxiety to prove their bravery in battle.[126] They fought not for wealth or power, but only for prestige and glory. Like any proud people, if they were ridiculed, treated with condescension or disrespect, the Dakotas would fight to maintain their honor. On the other hand, if they were approached as friends and equals, they were unsurpassed in courtesy and hospitality.[127]

[124]Standing Bear, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-169.

[125]Riggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-128.

[126]Standing Bear, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

[127]Vestal, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

The Great Plains became a battleground between the Dakotas and their frontier antagonists only after the settlers threatened to seize their hunting grounds and destroy their game. Then the cause of the Dakota warriors became in their minds a righteous crusade to preserve their way of life; and their reputation as fighting men was made during their efforts to prevent their own extinction.[128] But, unfortunately for themselves, the warriors fought as individuals. Few leaders were effective enough to perfect a planned and sustained campaign against the enemy. True, their skill as warriors brought them victory in many battles, honor among their own people, and the respect of the opposition; but in the long run it was ineffective against the stubborn persistence of the harrassed, and slow-moving United States frontier cavalry.[129]

The leader in Dakota warfare lacked real authority to command large groups of men. He depended instead on his courage and skill to attract a small number of followers who would ride with him on limited expeditions against the enemy. A leader who lost some of his men and was not himself wounded or killed was discredited, for it was felt that he "should be in the thick of the fight." When a brave leader was killed in fighting the enemy, his comrades praised his bravery, and, because "they came home without him" simply wished to "revenge him, or vindicate themselves by some brave deeds."[130] The conception of an all-powerful and supreme chief was largely a non-Indian idea, based on the fact that government officers and traders wished to transact business with the clans through one person. But, according to the Dakota culture, the only person who might exert anything like coercive leadership was the "holy man," and even his powers were limited to certain special areas of life.[131]

During this period of warfare, a few outstanding men did appear as temporary symbols of resistance. Their authority increased by virtue of their ability to resist and, occasionally, by the recognition accorded them by the government commissions who needed someone to sign a treaty, or, somewhat later, by the Indian agents who wanted the younger braves kept under control. At the same time, any Dakota who was so arrogant as to assume leadership in order to promote himself with the American army, or so cowardly as to refuse to fight for his people in the "battle of treaty writing," might lose not only his position but his life at the hands of one of the Dakota warrior societies.[132]

One of the Dakota leaders who became a symbol of resistance during this critical period was Sitting Bull. He "never lost an opportunity to impress his hearers with the idea that they all owed a duty to their children—that of preserving the In-

[128]Standing Bear, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
[129]Vestal, *op. cit.*, p. 135.
[130]Stanley Vestal, *Warpath*, p. 261.
[131]Gideon H. Pond, "Dakota Superstitions," *Minnesota Historical Collections*, II (1890), p. 216.
[132]Barton, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-178, and Vestal, *New Sources of Indian History*, pp. 201-202.

dian lands for the peace and enjoyment in the years to come."[133] His shrewdness and perseverance in dealing with his antagonists became a legend among the Dakotas. The following anecdote is typical of the stories related about him:

> On one occasion the Major (McLaughlin) told the chief that since he was married to two women, he would have to get rid of one, as he had promised to live like the White man, with one wife. Sitting Bull said that he could not do that because he liked both of his wives and would not know which one to give up. The Major called his attention to the fact that Sitting Bull had agreed to live the ways of a White Man, and said, "Didn't you agree to live like a White man?" "Yes," said Sitting Bull, "I agreed to do that, and I will do it. I will live just like a White man: you give me a White wife and you can have both my Indian wives." This was said with a twinkle in his eye and with a slight grin of sarcasm, which left the Major without much further to say.[134]

Another humorous story has been recorded regarding Sitting Bull's leadership and advice at the Council at Fort Laramie in 1868. The young warriors were feasted with pork that had been marked with a govenment inspector's stamp in indelible blue ink. The old chief pointed to the samp and remarked:

> "It is well known that white men eat each other. This is strange flesh they offer us. I have hunted all my life, but I have never seen an animal with flesh like that. You can see in this camp how many of the white soldiers are tattooed. Well, look at the tattoo marks on the meat! Perhaps this is the flesh of some white man they have given you. Do not touch it."[135]

Throughout this period of crisis, the Plains Indians were recognized by the military officers who opposed them as among the best cavalrymen in the world. The Indians were excellent horsemen, daring fighters, and unequaled scouts. They were familiar with all the tactics of frontier warfare. They were highly skilled in the use of the bow and arrow, since they made their living shooting running buffalo from the bare backs of their ponies.[136] They had at first approached the strangers from the East as friends rather than hostiles; only after it was too late to prevent the great tide of migrants from overrunning the land did they begin to defend home and fireside.[137]

Although they fought valiantly, the Dakotas lacked the discipline and organization, as well as the material, of the United States Army. They fought as volunteers, to distinguish themselves by courageous acts, and they lost because they could not for long sustain a unified opposition. Then, again, when the American Army failed to do so, internal strife and the threat of starvation defeated them. Toward the end of this period, jealousies and rivalries were particularly evident be-

[133] Usher L. Burdick, *The Last Days of Sitting Bull*, p. 17.
[134] *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.
[135] Vestal, *New Sources of Indian History*, *op. cit.*, p. 197.
[136] *Ibid.*, p. 322.
[137] Standing Bear, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

tween the bands who settled at the agencies and accepted annuities from the government and the free and independent hunting bands who persisted in their refusal to surrender. The "agency folks" were distrusted and scorned as "captives of the white man."[138]

Falling Action (1879 to the present). According to their own standards (and perhaps even Caucasian standards) the culture of the Teton Dakotas was in many ways utopian. They were, as Haberly has written, "pious without priests; just and honest without laws or jails; wise and eloquent without schools." Everyone shared equally during good times and bad. Practicing moderation, they were relatively healthy and contented. By their own values, we must conclude, they were certainly a very happy people.[139] But after their defeat and confinement on reservations, the good old life began to slip slowly away. Some of the older men observing the trend away from their culture, resisted the pressure for change. The speech of one of these patriarchs illustrates their concern for the future:

> God sees you. Guard the Black Hills and also this Reservation. Do not let white men fool you. Use your head and take care of your people. Be wise, be patient. Try to get along with the people of this island (the United States). God made these people as well as ourselves. We do not wish to fight them. Hold fast what we have told you. Never forget these words.
>
> Love your people there are many helpless—old folks and orphans. Take care of them. Be good friends to good men: good men are your friends. Use all your mind to look out for the future of our young folks. Be fair with the Grandfather, and try to make a good bargain and a fair agreement for both parties. Never let the Sacred Pipe go out, and when you pray to Wakan Tanka with this peace-pipe, He will hear you. Do not step out of the Indian road; that is the road Wakan Tanka made for us. See that your children learn those things which the Grandfather wishes them to know. Try to secure a good agent and a good Commissioner of Indian Affairs. As we live now, everything comes through them; keep them satisfied. Be thoughtful, think every day. These are my words.[140]

The missionary schools which had been established during an earlier period only began to be effective when the Dakotas were confined to reservations. Reverend Stephen Riggs had by this time produced a Dakota-English dictionary which greatly facilitated the learning of English in these schools.[141] Obviously, some educational attainments were accompanied by the loss of older values which had formerly served as a basis of Dakota character structure. The special vision experience in the life of the Dakota boy was not replaced by any equivalent educational practice or values, and this serious deficiency became an important cause of demoralization among the ado-

[138] Vestal, *New Sources of Indian History*, *op. cit.*, p. 329.
[139] Haberly, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
[140] Vestal, *Warpath*, *op. cit.*, pp. 231-232.
[141] Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

lescent school boys.[142] The result was often similar to the case cited by Reverend Williamson:

> In the early school at Yankton Agency my most promising pupil was John Owanka, a lad of sixteen, who soon learned to read the Dakota Bible. He was much interested and wanted to prepare for baptism.
>
> The time came for the annual sun dance. By taunts and threats the managers induced him to offer himself as one of two self-immolators to the sun. For three days and nights, without a bite of food or a drop of water, with cords run through the flesh of his back and pulled up tight to a pole above, he danced in his tracks until his weariness was so great he would throw his weight on the cords in his back, causing the blood to run down to the ground. When he completed his time, he was so far gone he lay down and in a day or two died. But according to the sun priests, he was rewarded by having his name heralded as a hero in the spirit land.[143]

Many missionaries, teachers, and government officials, disturbed by the persistence of traditional cultural practices, strongly advocated the prohibition of the Sun Dance. This, they hoped, would weaken the traditional band organization, destroy the influence of the older leaders, and hasten the pacification and anglicization of the Dakotas. In 1881, they were successful in getting the Sun Dance abolished by government decree.[144]

But it soon became evident that teachers and pupils would be compelled to disregard government edicts and regulations. If any lasting changes were to be effected, it was necessary to compromise with tradition and place old customs in new settings.

> One picturesque feature connected with the school was the calling of the time for school by an old man who had been "*cyampaha*" or crier for heathen ceremonies and dances. He was converted and wanted some Christian work to do. Mr. Williamson told him he could be crier for the school and for church services. He took a pride in his position and performed his duties with faithfulness and ability. He would be on hand early every morning and wait until Mr. Williamson told him it was time for school. Then he would start around the camp and call on the children and young people to come to school, not always in the same set phrase, but with remarks varied to suit the occasion, and all in a sort of rhythmic chant which was more musical than any school bell.[145]

Reverend Williamson, realizing full well that confinement in school was irksome to Dakota youth trained for the free life of the hunt, and that educational success depended on some steadfastness of effort, had to bargain with them to stay in school for a certain time, even if it was only a few weeks.[146]

But the effect of these compromises was soon destroyed by a new ruling of the Indian Bureau sent out in 1886: "In all schools conducted by missionary organizations it is re-

[142]Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 131.
[143]Barton, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130.
[144]Warren Cardwell, *An Introduction to the Modern Oglala Sioux*, pp. 7-8.
[145]Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
[146]*Ibid.*, p. 134.

quired that all instruction shall be given in the English language. Instruction in the Dakota language will not be permitted." Dr. Riggs protested against this order in an editorial in the *Word Carrier:*

> Time was when it was considered the whole of civilization to get an Indian to wear breeches. By large gifts the Government civilized hundreds into breeches. Government couldn't wait for the slow change of character and the growth of ideas. It bagged its game in breeches and glowed with satisfaction until the next morning's sun showed their civilized by-breeches Indians on the warpath dressed in their ancestral breech clouts.
>
> Now there is a new patent method in vogue in Washington. It is the "all English" method, don't you know.
>
> It is just like the old "breeches method," adopting an incidental result, valuable though it be, in place of spiritual regeneration and character building. English will come, but not in this way.[147]

The work of Christianizing the Dakotas was closely associated with this missionary education. The entire Bible was translated into the language of the Dakotas, new churches were established, and native pastors were trained to carry on the missionary work among their people.[148] But in accepting Christianity, the Dakotas had reservations about some Christian doctrines, and, wherever they could, reinterpreted church customs to emphasize old tribal patterns. Donations to the church, for example, were made in honor of someone, in order that both this individual and the giver could participate in the resulting prestige that had been customary in the earlier "gift-giving" ceremonies. The Christian concept of giving in order to acquire merit in heaven or to compensate for past misdeeds was largely ignored or simply not understood.[149] LaFarge has noted how the Dakotas integrated their old wisdom with the social activities associated with the Christian religion:

> The Dakota worked to gather goods in order to give them away: e.g., in the Ghost Ceremony in memory of the dead. In so doing prestige was gained or maintained in the group. In the teachings of Christ the Dakotas found parallels with their own ideals. And social prestige was above possession of goods. The Dakotas brought their own idea of giving into the Christian practice (at least ideal) of sharing. The development or coming in of the cash wage practically curtailed opportunities for replenishing stocks of goods after a Give Away, but the practice of giving to the church and through the church remained, and the practice of remembering the dead in church service became firmly fixed.[150]

It is difficult to assess the cultural effects of the Dakota conversion to Christianity. Some evidence suggests that the acceptance of Christian principles did not change anything but their superficial characteristics and in no way interfered with their basic value orientation. Back-

[147] *Ibid.*, pp. 154-155.
[148] Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 340.
[149] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, p. 360.
[150] LaFarge, *The Changing American Indian*, pp. 163-164.

sliding was common, as indicated in Reverend Williamson's observation:

> Old heathen habits arise and draw the people back into the old ruts. Their social customs and amusements are largely heathenish. If they turn aside from these to seek recreation among white people, the ballroom and the saloon lead them into vices more destructive than their old heathen ways.[151]

Many examples may be cited to illustrate the persistence of older religious values among those individuals converted to Christianity. A young Dakota woman might refuse to teach her Sunday School class during her menstruation for fear of supernatural danger to her boy pupils. Some older men were fearful of hospitals because the female nurses were known not to seclude themselves during these dangerous periods.[152] The sacred pipe might not be handled by the uninitiated for fear of some disaster.[153] The invention of some unusual instrument might even be attributed to the efforts of a supernatural visitant.[154]

On the other hand, some changes did occur which demonstrated that the mold of religious traditions was beginning to crack. The children were learning to speak English, and could not be induced to use the language of their parents. White settlements were moving to the very door of the tipi, and honest and devoted teachers and government employees were influential in pointing out the discrepancies between the material wealth and the cultural values of some of the intruders on the reservation. Perhaps fundamental changes in the Dakota value system were not entirely perfected, but changes in outward appearance were brought about gradually through the efforts of faithful missionaries.[155]

From the very beginning of their contacts with the technicways of the frontiersmen, the Dakotas voluntarily surrender some of their original cutural traits. In the early phase, the substitution of new equipment and technology in the material area of their culture increased Dakota strength and expanded their cultural influence. Then, as they proceeded to engage in warfare with the frontier soldiers, their tribal organization began to disintegrate, and they became a nation of warriors and quarreling goups. The basic theme of the Sun Dance was centered around an aggressive desire to preserve themselves from disintegration.[156] After being conquered and confined to reservations, the Dakotas were forbidden to practice many of their old beliefs; and so they turned to passive resistance, temporarily or superficially changing their ways when coerced, but retaining underneath many of the basic values of their traditional culture.

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[151] Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

[152] Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[153] Sidney, J. Thomas, "A Sioux Medicine Bundle," *American Anthropologist*, XLIII (1941) p. 608.

[154] Boas, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

[155] Barton, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-190.

[156] Radin, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

Marginal Religious Practices

The astonishing fortitude displayed by the Dakota Indians, at a time when in the last years of their crumbling resistance against the invaders they were suffering from starvation and disorganization, makes a pathetic story of sacrifice and devotion.[157] The older religious beliefs, which were unified by the Sun Dance, provided a reason for continuing the hopeless struggle. The desperate situation is graphically presented by one of the older men who had survived the ordeal:

> There is a great deal in what a man believes, and if a man's religion is changed for the better or for the worse he will know it. The Sun dance was our first and our only religion. We believe that there is a mysterious power greater than all others, which is represented by nature, one form of representation being the sun. Thus we made sacrifices to the sun, and our petitions were granted. The Indians lived longer in the old days than now. I would not say this change is due to throwing away the old religion; there may be other reasons, but in the old times the Sun dance was held annually and was looked forward to with eagerness. I believe we had true faith at that time. But there came a year when "the sun died." There was a period of darkness, and from that day a new religion came to the Indians. It is the white man's religion. We are timid about it, as we are about the other ways of the white man. In the old days our faith was strong and our lives were cared for; now our faith is weaker, and we die.[158]

To many Dakotas, the very existence of their nation was intimately associated with the preservation of traditional religious practices. Undoubtedly, the introduction of the Christian religion produced some spiritual conflict; but generally it was felt that the "faith of their fathers" could be the only firm basis for group survival. This feeling developed inevitably. At first the traditional religious leaders temporarily inclined toward Christianity; but after observing discord among missionaries and hypocrisy among lay Christians, they resolved their conflict by adhering even more strongly to their old religion.[159] The famous chieftain Red Cloud has been credited with asking the embarrassing historic questions at a council in the Black Hills with the commissioners of the Government, after the invocation had been given: "Which God is our brother praying to now? Is it the same God whom they have twice deceived, when they made treaties with us which they afterward broke?"[160]

Theory of Transitional Religion

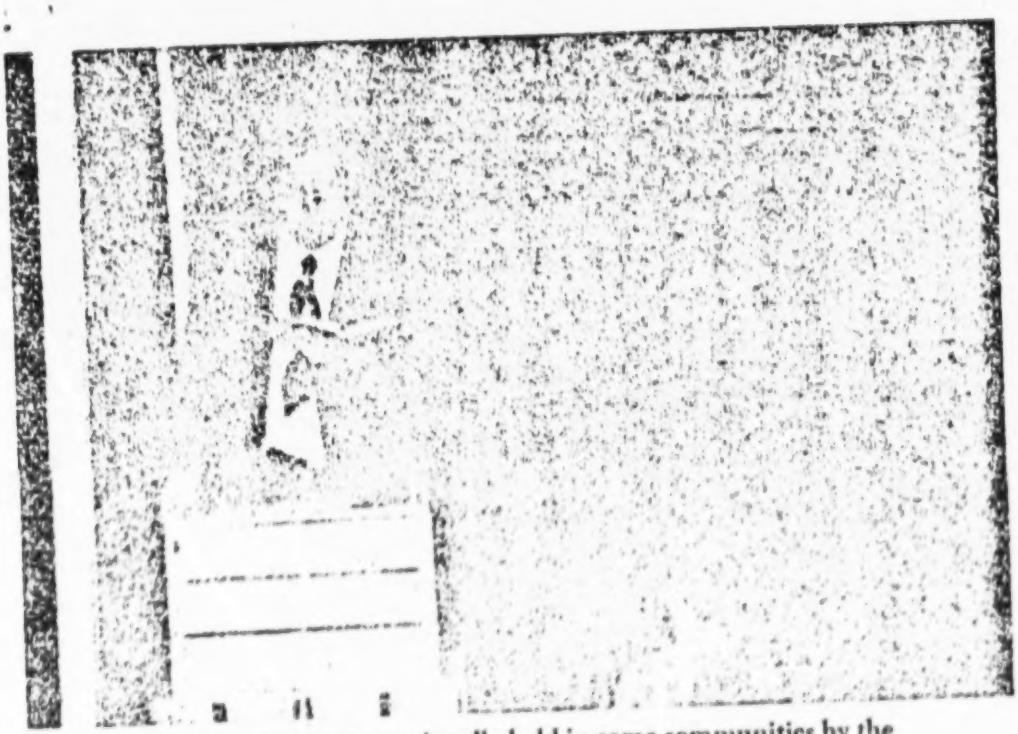
The social organization of the Dakota Indians was based on related kinship groups. This organization began to disintegrate during the reservation period. Some new cultural

[157] P. E. Byrne, *The Red Men's Last Stand*, p. 208.

[158] Densmore, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

[159] Warren K. Moorehead, *The American Indian in the United States: 1850-1914*, pp. 187-188.

[160] Halley, *op. cit.*, p. 100.



Tent meetings are occasionally held in some communities by the smaller evangelistic denominations.

practices, relatively compatible with Dakota culture, were voluntarily accepted; but the Dakotas were also coerced into adopting a few non-Indian customs which were sufficiently incompatible to block effective response to their native culture practices.[161] For example, buffalo hunting customs, well adjusted to the pre-reservation economy, were forcibly replaced by the issuance of agency rations as the basic means of subsistence. The Dakotas, however, did retain in the events of ration day some of the old gregarious and ceremonial activities which had been considered an important part of the hunt. But shooting slow-moving domesticated cattle from horses back or holding ceremonies to attract the herd were clearly unsatisfactory responses to a difficult situation.[162]

Such cultural conflicts, imposed upon a conquered people, cause them to search for some satisfying activities that will provide their lives with a degree of meaning and security. The theoretical contention of this study is that marginal religious activities have provided just such an accommodation to these value conflicts with the culture. The Ghost Dance appeared about 1890 and was followed by the Peyote and Yuwipi cults. These attempts at religious accommodation to conflicting cultures share many common elements: (1) they include traditional Dakota rites, or the usual su-

[161] J. S. Slotkin, *The Peyote Religion*, pp. 14-15.

[162] James Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," *Annual Report of the United States Bureau of Ethnology*, Vol. 14, pp. 1,066-1,067.

pernatural means for restoring an earlier, more favorable environment; (2) they emphasized social solidarity in ceremonial and recreational activities; (3) they substituted collective, non-violent means of acquiring supernatural power for the individual vision as a basis for success in life; (4) they revived estheticism in their social activities and their art; (5) they developed a new ethical system which combined the predominantly non-Indian values of peacefulness, brotherly love, and self-support with traditional behavioral norms; (6) they provided ritual cures for contagious diseases which, only recently introduced, were taking a great toll of Dakota life.[163]

The Ghost Dance

In the 1880's the Teton Dakotas were predisposed to accept any religious movement which promised them deliverance from their great distress. Their game animals and their cattle were dying because of drought and disease, and the bands were threatened with starvation. In addition, it must not be forgotten that they were a nation of imprisoned warriors, the recent conflicts with the American army still fresh in their memory, and bearing several grave grievances against their official guardians.[164] Moreover, the influence of Christianity was very superficial and transitory, since there was no organized church among the Western Dakota Indians.[165] As a result of these conditions, the acceptance of a nativisitic militant doctrine like the Ghost Dance was a foregone conclusion. As a central doctrine, this cult provided supernatural means for the salvation of all their problems: the coming of a messiah who would overthrow the domination of the United States Government, destroy non-Indian society and culture, and renovate the world according to Indian ideas.[166] As an additional benefit, for the faithful performance of religious duties, the organizers of the dance promised to ward off disease for the whole kinship group.[167]

Purification in the sweat bath, as James Mooney has observed, was an essential preliminary devotional and sanitary ritual of this dance.

> The sweat bath is in frequent use, both as a religious rite of purification and as a hygienic treatment. Like everything else in Indian life, even the sanitary application is attended with much detail of religious ceremony. Fresh bundles of the fragrant wild sage are strewn upon the ground inside of the sweathouse, and a fire is kindled outside a short distance away. In this fire stones are heated by the medicine-men, and when all is ready the patient or devotee, stripped to the breech-cloth, enters the sweathouse. The stones are then handed in to him by the priests by means of two forked sticks, cut especially for the purpose, and with two other forked sticks he puts the stones into the hole already men-

[163]Slotkin, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[164]Robert H. Lowie. *Primitive Religion*, p. 194.

[165]Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

[166]Slotkin, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[167]Mooney, *op. cit.*, pp. 786-787.

tioned as having been dug in the center of the lodge. Water is then passed in to him, which he pours over the hot stones until the whole interior is filled with steam; the blankets are pulled tight to close every opening, and he sits in this aboriginal Turkish bath until his naked body is dripping with perspiration. During this time the doctors outside are doing their part in the way of praying to the gods and keeping up the supply of hot stones and water until in their estimation he has been sufficiently purified, physically or morally, when he emerges and resumes his clothing, sometimes first checking the perspiration and inducing a reaction by a plunge into the neighboring stream.[168]

Mooney's description continues:

> Before going into the dance the men, or at least the leaders, fasted for twenty-four hours, and then at sunrise entered the sweathouse for the religious rite of purification preliminary to painting themselves for the dance. The sweathouse is a small circular framework of willow branches driven into the ground and bent over and brought together at the top in such a way that when covered with blankets or buffalo robes the structure forms a diminutive round-top tipi just high enough to enable several persons to sit or to stand in a stooping posture inside. The doorway faces the east, as is the rule in Indian structures, and at the distance of a few feet in front of the doorway is a small mound of earth, on which is placed a buffalo skull, with the head turned as if looking into the lodge. The earth of which the mound is formed is taken from a hole dug in the center of the lodge. Near the sweat-house, on the outside, there is frequently a tall sacrifice pole, from the top of which are hung strips of bright-colored cloth, packages of tobacco, or other offerings to the deity invoked by the devotee on any particular occasion.[169]

After the purification ceremony, the dancers were painted by the medicine men: "The design and color varied with the individual, being frequently determined by a previous trance vision of the subject, but circles, crescents, and crosses, representing respectively the sun, the moon, and the morning star, were always favorite figures upon forehead, face, and cheeks."[170] After being painted, the Tetons were robed in sacred ghost shirts decorated to ward off enemy bullets. The protective virtue was believed to reside in bird figures which had been revealed by a supernatural power—the eagle, magpie, crow, or sage-hen. This idea derived from the early Dakota belief that the designs on their shields turned enemy arrows aside.[171]

The actual dancing was preceded by the planting of a small tree in the center of the circle. An American flag or colored streamers floated from the top of the tree, and the priests of the dance sat at its base.

> At a great dance at No Water's camp on White river near Pine Ridge, shortly before the arrival of the troops, a young woman standing within the circle gave the signal for the performance by shooting

[168] *Ibid.*, p. 822.
[169] *Ibid.*, pp. 822-823.
[170] *Ibid.*, p. 823.
[171] Lowie, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

into the air toward the cardinal points four sacred arrows, made after the old primitive fashion with bone heads, and dipped in the blood of a steer before being brought to the dance. These were then gathered up and tied to the branches of the tree, together with the bow, a gaming wheel and sticks, and a peculiar staff or wand with horns. Another young woman, or the same one, remained standing near the tree throughout the dance, holding a sacred redstone pipe stretched out toward the west, the direction from which the messiah was to appear.

At the beginning the performers, men and women, sat on the ground in a large circle around the tree. A plaintive chant was then sung, after which a vessel of some sacred food was passed around the circle until everyone had partaken, when, at a signal by the priests, the dancers rose to their feet, joined hands, and began to chant the opening song and move slowly around the circle from right to left.[172]

As described by J. F. Asay, formerly a trader at Pine Ridge Agency, the rites continued as follows:

> The dancers first stood in line facing the sun, while the leader, standing facing them, made a prayer and waved over their heads the "ghost stick," a staff about six feet long, trimmed with red cloth and feathers of the same color. After thus waving the stick over them, he faced the sun and made another prayer, after which the line closed up to form a circle around the tree and the dance began.[173]

The Ghost Dance songs embodied the doterine of a messianic religion with special mythology, archaic customs and modes of life. Mooney has translated several of these songs, the following serving as a fine example:

> The whole world is coming,
> A nation is coming, a nation is coming.
> The Eagle has brought the message to the tribe.
> The father says so, the father says so.
> Over the whole earth they are coming.
> The buffalo are coming, the buffalo are coming.
> The Crow has brought the message to the tribe.
> The father says so, the father says so.[174]

This song expresses the hope of the Ghost Dancers for the return of the buffalo and the departed dead. Supposedly, the messages are brought by the eagle and crow, sacred birds of the religion.[175]

At the climax of the ceremony, the participants became ecstatic *en masse*. Some fell into a trance and had visions of buffalo herds; others "saw" scouting expeditions and a happy camp life. These manifestations of the older ways of life were accompanied by fantasies of animal visitants, characteristic of the Dakota visions generally experienced by the adolescent vision seeker as well as by participants in the Sun Dance. Although the ethical doctrines of the messianic religion were ignored, the Dakota dancers did incorporate some of the teachings of the missionaries into the philoso-

[172] Mooney, *op. cit.*, pp. 823-824.
[173] *Ibid.*, p. 915.
[174] *Ibid.*, p. 953.
[175] *Ibid.*, p. 1,072.

phy of the ceremony. Previously, the crucified Christ, for example, would have been rejected by the conquered Indians; but now He would return as an avenger of the wrongs which had been done them, serving much the same purpose as their guardian spirits. In these ways, the Ghost Dance was effective during this great crisis in unifying some basic Christian beliefs with those of the pre-existing Teton system of religion.[176]

The conditions responsible for the end of the Ghost Dance were: (1) the failure of the messiah to appear and bring about the anticipated world renovation (and there was no reinterpretation of doctrine to account for this failure); (2) the prohibition of Ghost Dance rites by government officials concerned with mantaining their control of the Dakota Indians during the years 1890-91; and (3) the violent suppression of a few hostile groups by the United States Army at the height of the disturbances, such as the massacre at Wounded Knee. As a result, the Dakotas became resigned to subordination; they accepted a program of accommodation and gave up hope of actively opposing the superior non-Indian forces.[177]

Peyote Cult

The rise of the Peyote cult followed upon the failure and supression of the Ghost Dance. The conditions which had formerly produced a militant, nativistic movement now generated a peaceful transitional religious program. But, as Barber has observed, "The Ghost Dance and the Peyote cult ... may in part be understood as alternative responses to a similar socio-cultural constellation."[178] The reduction of rations, crop failures, starvation, and overall frustration were still the basic problems.[179]

Peyotism is named after the part played in Indian church services by the mescaline bean of a cactus plant that grows in Mexico and the Southwestern United States. The communion of the Peyote meeting is the passing of the beans in a solution prepared from them to the communicants at the service. Chewing the Peyote bean induces a trance-like condition and provides a temporary feeling of well-being, release from anxiety and physical pain. The Peyote service also includes native rituals, chants, and practices modified by some Christian symbols (such as the cross and altar) and the professed recognition of Christ. In short, in doctrine and ritual, the Peyote cult selectively incorporates Christian and native religious elements.

The transitional nature of this religious movement is evident in its provision of a cultural organization to which the Indians could show allegiance and of a supernatural means which could help them adjust to difficult existing conditions.[180] The idea of super-

[176]Lowie, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-196.
[177]Slotkin, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
[178]Bernard Barber, "A Socio-Cultural Interpretation of the Peyote Cult," *American Anthropologist*, XL (December, 1941), p. 674.
[179]Frank Fiske, *The Taming of the Sioux*, p. 156.
[180]Slotkin, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

natural assistance through revelation was common to both native Dakota and Christian religions; thus the meaning and direction of the spiritual power that had provided aid in war or hunting could not be changed. Now, instead, it could be used to encourage success in righteous living. Peyotism was then, an Indian combination of native vision and Christian ethics.[181] Moreover, this cult provided a cohesive force which partially replaced the old kinship system which, disintegrating, was no longer effective in controlling behavior. It opposed the use of liquor, since total abstinence was believed to be necessary for peaceful and upright living. Indeed, the ethical doctrines of Peyotism are much like those of all monotheistic religions.[182]

The activities accompanying the Peyote services are as significant as the actual communion. For example, the Dakota emphasis on collectivism in social organization is trasmitted into the organization of the Peyote Church. The collective nature of the Peyote rite heightens the emotional reactions of the participants, all of whom are given important functions in the religious activities and permitted to make their individual contributions to the service. In addition, the congregation members are expected to treat each as brothers and sisters, helping each other during times of crisis, economic need or sickness; and likewise, visiting and gift-giving are encouraged.[183] As explained earlier, these were important social obligations in traditional Dakota society.

The total effect of Peyotism is probably greatest on those suffering from disintegration of their established personality structure, a direct result of social isolation. The individual who has suffered such personality disorganization may satisfy his need for gregariousness in the small, intimate groups which constitute the basic structure of the Native American Church. If he behaves acceptably and shows solidarity with these groups, he will be spiritually rehabilitated—his personality reorganization will receive group approval as it conforms to group standards. Thus this Indian Church substitutes a new set of social roles for the unattainable traditional status system.[184]

As we have seen, Peyotism, as a marginal religion, is compatible with traditional Dakota culture. The curative powers attributed to Peyote, the vision-producing effect of its use, the anti-dominant group theme in the religion, and the reaffirmation of in-group feelings in spiritual and aesthetic activities indicate the desire to recapture or maintain old ways of life.[185] But Peyotism has also adapted a few Christian religious characteristics. Such Christian values as open confession of sin, brotherly love, care of

[181] Underhill, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-132.

[182] *Ibid.*, pp. 135-136. Peyotism also permitted the Indians to reject the subordinate status usually accorded Indian converts to Christianity.

[183] Slotkin, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[184] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

[185] Malcolm J. Arth, "A Functional View of Peyotism in Omaha Culture," *Plains Anthropologist*, VII (October, 1956), p. 25-28.

family, self-reliance, and avoidance of alcohol reflect some degree of acceptance of the culture of Western Civilization.[186]

The recreational function of Peyotism serves well as a morale booster. The Peyote meeting is an important leisure-time activity for those who enjoy visiting. On the day after the actual meeting, the time is usually spent in joking, gossiping, storytelling, and eating. These activities provide a reasonable balance to the staid and ritualized Peyote service.[187]

The influence of rural life and a lower economic position is seen in the orgaization of the Native American Church. Its practice of denominationalism and temperance work, accompanied by a varied assortment of social activities, is similar to that of most rural churches in the Great Plains area. Even the use of the term "church," with all its connotations, signifies an attempt to put Peyotism on the same level of dignity as Christian denominations and to accommodate to their pattern of religious organization. The use of biblical quotations in the Peyote services, likewise borrowed from rural churches with fundamentalist doctrines, reflects the sensitivity of a marginal religion to the opinion of the dominant religious groups in the area.[188]

Yuwipi Cult

"The only continuing cult of the Dakota religion is the Yuwipi meeting . . . This cult worships manifestations of four chief Dakota gods, and invokes supernatural power for curing the sick and occasionally for finding lost articles."[189] The power of the "priest," the medicine man, is based on a vision in which a animal deity appears before him and gives him the key to curing illness, finding lost articles, predicting the future, or performing some amazing feat. Celebrated priests may be called from great distances to work their miracle cures, and they are usually well paid in gifts of cash or, more frequently, food, clothing, horses, and other goods.[190]

Its reliance on elements of the traditional Dakota religion suggests that the Yuwipi cult is entirely vestigal; but it has undergone amalgamatory changes. It has, in fact, adapted to modern reservation conditions to the point where it may be thought of as a marginal practice, implying a fusion of "pure" Dakota religion with the new needs of people. Unlike Peyotism, the cult has not established itself as an organized church with officials and a polity; rather it functions on an informal basis and at irregular times according to the needs and desires of the participants.[191]

The transitional character of these marginal religious cults, the Yuwipi and the Native American Church, is indicated by the fact that the present day reservation Indians have not become so firmly attached to any one form of religion

[186]Slotkin, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
[187]Arth, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
[188]Slotkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.
[189]Gordon MacGregor, *Warriors Without Weapons*, p. 98.
[190]Cardwelll, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
[191]Macgregor, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

that they are suspicious of all others. Christian ministers and denominational church leaders on the reservation may disapprove of Peyote or Yuwipi, but they cannot forbid their church members to show respect for or even to participate in these native cults. Several religious affiliations may be held simultaneously by one individual or by one family; however, there is a tendency for all the members of a community to join the same Christian church because of the value placed on common kinship association. Since the beliefs of all religious sects are thought to be consistent with the basic Dakota values of sharing and cooperation, the Christian churches tend to perpetuate these values and utilize them to their own advantage. They may promote social gatherings, which some nonmembers usually attend if food is served and there are ample opportunities to visit with friends and relatives. The native gift giving ceremonies following the death and funeral of a relative may also be tolerated or even encouraged by the Christian church. Thus the Dakota find it easy to maintain plural memberships.[192]

Contemporary Values in 2 Pine Ridge Communities

In order to test the validity of the hypothesis of this study, a field investigation was conducted on the Pine Ridge Reservation during the summer of 1957.[193] Two communities selected for this investigation have been given the general designation of "traditional" and "transpositional".[194] A map showing the location of the 37 families in the two communities is presented in figure 1.[195] The families from which no interviews could be obtained for reasons of unavailability or uncooperativeness are indicated in figure 1 by an X.

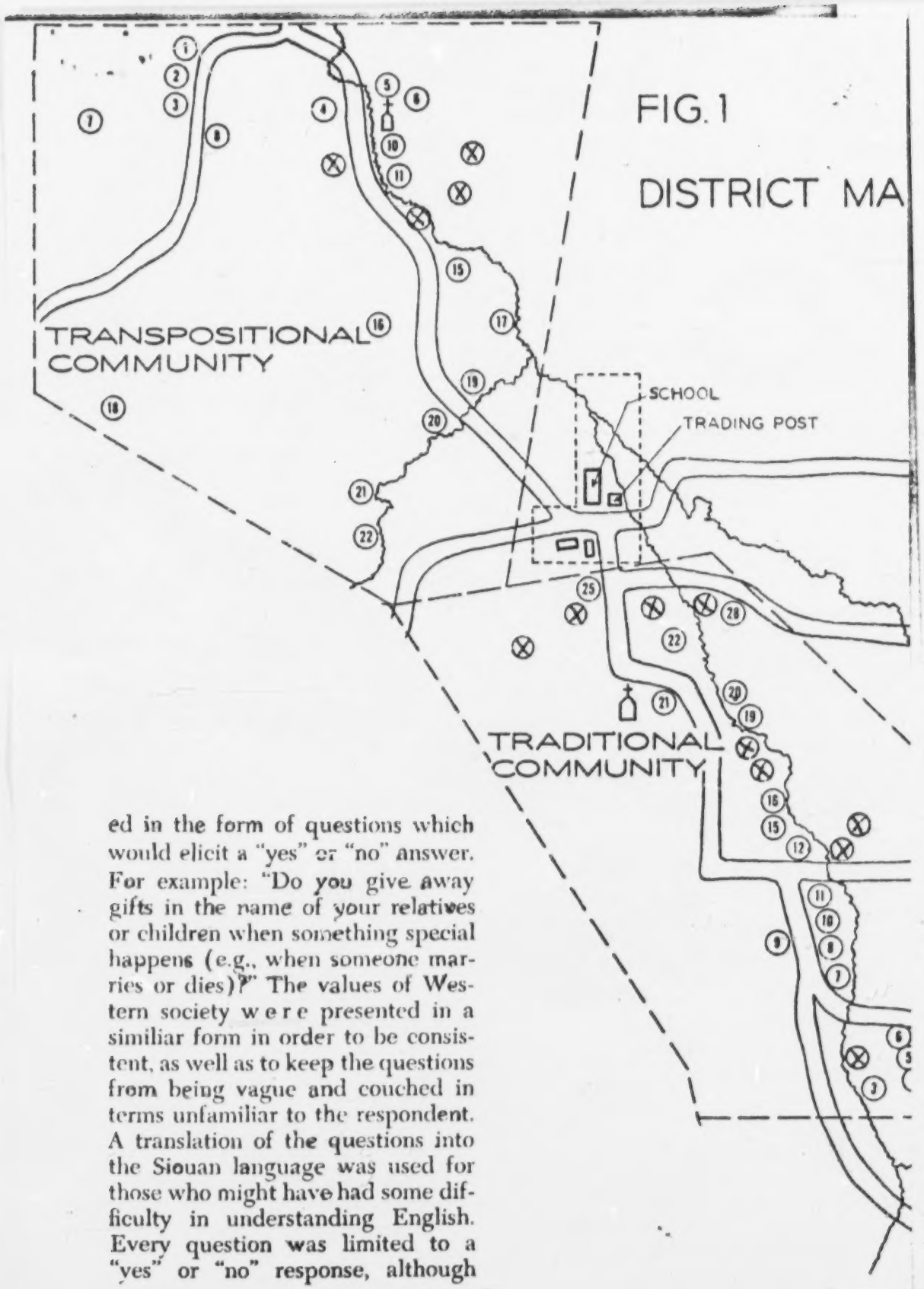
The questions on the schedule were based on the value system of traditional Dakota society and contemporary Western Civilization. Sixteen items concerning beliefs or modes of action (eight based on Dakota values, and eight on Western values) were selected and present-

[192] Cardwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

[193] The hypothesis stated in Section III, may be repeated: The responses of Pine Ridge residents to a series of questions based on traditional Dakota culture and on modern American culture reveal conflicts in those values expressive of marginal religious participation. Answers indicating approval of both value systems suggest greater participation in religious activities, but those indicating approval of one value system suggest lesser participation.

[194] The traditional community has more traits that are typical of traditional Dakota Indian culture, and the transpositional community more nearly resembles South Dakota rural society although retaining some traits related to reservation residence. A more detailed description of these communities is given in Vernon D. Malan's *The Dakota Indian Family*, pp. 7-12.

[195] The limited number of cases may not be extremely meaningful in and of themselves, but they tend to lend support, although not conclusively prove, the hypothesis of the study. For a detailed discussion of the limitations of the method of the study see Clinton J. Jesser's *The Changing Traditional Value System of the Dakota Indians*, pp. 78-84.



ed in the form of questions which would elicit a "yes" or "no" answer. For example: "Do you give away gifts in the name of your relatives or children when something special happens (e.g., when someone marries or dies)?" The values of Western society were presented in a similiar form in order to be consistent, as well as to keep the questions from being vague and couched in terms unfamiliar to the respondent. A translation of the questions into the Siouan language was used for those who might have had some difficulty in understanding English. Every question was limited to a "yes" or "no" response, although

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"don't know" responses or qualified replies were also noted on the schedule. At the same time, additional information was obtained from the respondents regarding their church attendance and participation in Yuwipi and Peyote meetings, and aid sought in times of sickness or trouble. An exact copy of the questions is given in Appendix I.[190]

The answers elicited from respondents have indicated either approval or disapproval of a Dakota or Western value. Since the selected values of the two systems appear to be largely contradictory, approval of both value systems is expected to be associated with greater participation in certain marginal religious activities. A consistent pattern of responses would indicate approval of one system to the exclusion of the other, and a respondent with this pattern of replies would be less likely to engage in the Peyote or Yuwipi meetings.

Religious Participation

Consideration should first be given to Dakota participation in the activities of the traditional Christian churches in the study area. Nearly all the respondents were nominal members of either the Catholic or Episcopal church; table 1 indicates that most of them were relatively active in the activities of these two churches.

Some possible explanations for their endorsement of these Christian churches are: (1) the reservation church has adapted to the needs of people who are in an extremely isolated situation; (2) the church itself has compromised with indigenous Dakota values; (3) the Indians have accommodated some church practices to the values of their old religion; (4) the church meeting provides an opportunity for social gathering and visiting and offers spiritual security to individuals who can identify themselves with and belong to a well-established social group; (5) some Christian values are similar to Dakota values, e.g., generosity and chastity; (6) the authorities of the church, priests and ministers, reveal a sincere and personal concern for individuals, and as they work closely with the people, demonstrate their devotion to the Indians' welfare.

At the same time, reservation Indians seem very little concerned to abide by dogmatic denominational restrictions. During the course of a few months, it is not uncommon for them to attend church meetings of the only two reservation denominations, Catholic and Episcopal, the tent meetings occasionally held in the community by a visiting evangelist of some other denomination, and participate in Yuwipi or Peyote services. Loyalty to a single church does not seem to be so important as the need for social activity provided by attendance at all of these various meetings. Moreover, some individuals change their denominational affiliations at frequent intervals. In some cases, changing churches may also be associated with personality disintegration, since the disorganized individual may unconsciously

[190] A detailed discussion of the methodology of this study is available at the Rural Sociology Department, South Dakota State College, Brookings.

Table 1. Church Attendance, Preference, and Loyalty*

Selected Characteristics	Percent
Attending Church	98.0
Frequency of Attendance: (Adults)	
Whenever possible and whenever held	75.7
Once a month or/and seldom	21.6
Do not attend	2.7
Frequency of Attendance: (Children)	
Children attending	67.6
Children not attending	2.7
Have no children now or never had	24.3
No response	5.4
Church Preference:	
Catholic	54.0
Episcopal	46.0
Church Loyalty:	
Changed churches within the last year	6.0
Have not changed within the last year	94.0

*37 respondents in study.

be seeking some means of working out a reasonable adjustment to his value conflicts.

Acceptance of Dakota and Western Value Systems

The answers to the questions on the schedule were analysed and compared in the following ways in order to observe any possible associations that may exist between the responses and other related conditions: (1) selected characteristics of the respondents in the two communities were compared with the number of expected responses in the Dakota and Western value system; (2) selected characteristics of the respondents answering three or less questions in the Dakota value system as expected were compared with those answering four or more as expected; (3) selected characteristics of respondents participating in marginal religious activities were compared with non-marginal respondents; and (4) marginal and non - marginal respondents were compared with respect to the number of expected responses they gave to the Dakota and Western value systems.

The characteristics selected for investigation, because they appeared to be meaningful to the study of values and were essential to the conditions of Dakota living, were education, Indian ancestry, age and socio-economic scores.[187] These factors were compared with the average number of expected responses to the Dakota and Western value systems and the number of respondents answering three or less and four or more questions as expected on the Dakota value system (see table 2).

[187] Based on the short form of Sewell's Socioeconomic Status Scale. See William H. Sewell, "A Short Form of the Farm Family Socioeconomic Status Scale," *Rural Sociology* VIII (1943), pp. 161-170.

Table 2. General Characteristics of the Respondents in the Two Communities

Selected Characteristics	Community	
	Trans-positional	Tra-ditional
Education (Average number of years)	7.8	5.3
Indian Ancestry (Per cent of full bloods)	47.4	100.0
Age (Average years)	50.0	59.0
Socio-economic Scores	53.5	47.8
Average Number of Expected Responses on Dakota Value System	3.26	3.66
Average Number of Expected Responses on Western Value System	6.16	6.32
Number of Respondents Answering 3 or Less Questions as Expected on Dakota Value System	12.0	7.0
Number of Respondents Answering 4 or More Questions as Expected on Dakota Value System	7.0	11.0

*37 respondents in study.

There was a significantly large percentage of replies that indicated greater acceptance of Western than Dakota values. The averages were 90.7% for Western values and 49% for Dakota values. These percentages indicate that the values of Western society have gained almost complete acceptance, so far as the expressed attitudes reflect the actual values of the reservation residents. At the same time, it appears that Dakota values may be receiving less acceptance than they did a few decades ago. Nevertheless, the questions relating to sharing and generosity received considerable more acceptance (65.9%) than the others (36.5%).

There were some significant differences between the two communities in regard to education, Indian ancestry, age, and socio-economic scores, as indicated in table 2. The older age and higher degree of Indian ancestry in the traditional community could be associated with their lower level of formal education. Lack of education, in turn, was a significant factor in the level of economic and social living. All of these general characteristics are indicative of the degree of traditional culture retained in the community. Thus the traditional community exhibited greater acceptance of Dakota values than the transpositional community.

The question may still be posed, "Is there an association between the responses to the two value systems and the two types of community?" A statistical test of significance was employed to determine the probability of such association.[198] The result indicated that the number of questions answered as expected on the Western and Dakota value systems was not directly associated

[198]The Chi-square test of significance was used. For an explanation of this test, see Lillian Cohen. *Statistical Methods for Social Scientists*, pp. 120-128.

with the particular community.[199] The association between the respondents answering three or less or four or more questions as expected on the Dakota value system and the community was greater, but not sufficient to provide confidence that this association was not a matter of chance.[200]

The selected characteristics of these two communities, presented in table 2, were then analysed individually and compared with the number of respondents answering three or less or four or more questions as expected on the Dakota value system (see table 3).

There was greater acceptance of Dakota values among those who had less than eight grades of education, were classified as full bloods, were over 50 years of age, and scored less than 50 points on the socio-economic scale. But when tests of statistical significance were applied to each of these characteristics independently, the results were inconclusive. The association may have occurred by chance.[201]

These same selected characteristics were then compared with those respondents who stated that they had participated in either Peyote or Yuwipi meetings, the evidence used to measure participation in marginal religious activities (see table 4).

Statistical tests of significance were applied to determine the probability of association between each characteristic and those who had participated in marginal activities. In each case the statistical test did not reveal scores below the 5% significance association; therefore the indication was that the observed association could have oc-

[199]The chi-square (x^2) value was .164 with one degree of freedom, far below the 5% level of probability.

[200]Chi-square (x^2)=2.269.

[201]The chi-square values were .598 for education differences, .076 for Indian ancestry, 2.6440 for age, and .669 for socio-economic scale scores. These values indicate that there was the greatest change of association between age and acceptance of Dakota values.

Table 3. General Characteristics of the Respondents Answering Three or Less and Four or More Questions as Expected on the Dakota Value System*

Selected Characteristics	3 or Less	4 or More
Education (Average Number of Years)	7.7	6.3
8th Grade and More	10.0	7.0
Less than 8th Grade	9.0	11.0
Indian Ancestry:		
Number of Full Bloods	13.0	14.0
Number of Mixed Bloods	6.0	4.0
Age (Average Years)	49.7	60.2
50 Years of Age and More	9.0	14.0
49 Years of Age and Less	10.0	4.0
Socio-economic Scores (Average)	52.5	51.2
50 Points and More	11.0	8.0
49 Points and Less	8.0	10.0

*37 respondents in study.

curred as chance phenomenon.[202] The statistical trends in table 4 did show somewhat greater participation in marginal religious activities among those who had less than an eighth grade education, were full bloods, were over 50 years of age, and scored less than 50 on the socio-economic scale. These results were in agreement with the findings given in table 3 concerning acceptance of Dakota values.

Those respondents who participated in marginal religious activities (Peyote or Yuwipi) accepted the Dakota value system to a considerably greater extent than the non-marginal respondents. In table 5, it will be noted that the acceptance of Western values is extremely high for both marginal and non-marginal respondents, and that the former indicated a slightly higher percentage of acceptance than the latter. The major distinction, however, was in the percentage of marginal respondents who accepted four or more of the Dakota values.

The association between marginality and total expected responses

[202]For education and participation in marginal religious activities $X^2=.020$; for Indian ancestry $X^2=.019$; and for socio-economic scale scores $X^2=.234$.

Table 4. General Characteristics of the Respondents Participating in Marginal Activities*

Selected Characteristics	Marginal Respondents	Non-marginal Respondents
Education (Average Number of Years)	7.5	7.4
8th Grade or More	3.0	14.0
7th Grade or Less	5.0	15.0
Indian Ancestry:		
Number of Full Bloods	7.0	20.0
Number of Mixed Bloods	1.0	9.0
Age (Average Years)	63.0	52.5
50 Years of Age or More	6.0	19.0
49 Years of Age or Less	2.0	10.0
Socio-economic Scores (Average)	47.8	53.0
50 Points or More	3.0	16.0
49 Points or Less	5.0	13.0

*37 respondents in study.

Table 5. Responses to the Value Systems and Participating in Marginal Activities

	Western Value System	Dakota Value System	Respondents Answering 3 or Less Questions as Expected for Dakota Value System		Respondents Answering 4 or More Questions as Expected as for Dakota Value System	
			No.	%	No.	%
Marginal Respondents	52	33	1	12.5	7	87.5
Non-Marginal Respondents	179	95	18	62.0	11	38.0

to the value system was found to lack confidence on a statistical measure of significance.[203] On the question of association between marginality and the number of expected responses to the Dakota value system, the differences between those who participated and those who did not participate were found to have a statistical significance.[204] Consequently, it could be concluded that the number of questions answered as expected on the Dakota value system was related to marginality: the greater the amount of Dakota values adhered to, the greater the attraction of marginal activities. This result is especially applicable to an area undergoing a transition in values, one in which non-indigenous Western values are more readily accepted than indigenous Dakota values.

In summary, the statistical measurements reported in this chapter indicated a high degree of acceptance (90.7%) of Western values but only an average acceptance (49%) of Dakota values. Association between education, Indian ancestry, age, and socio-economic scores and the traditional and transpositional communities was apparent but not statistically significant. Likewise, there was insufficient statistical evidence to support the conclusion that these selected characteristics were associated with participation in marginal religious activities. However, significant association was discovered between marginal religious participation and the degree of acceptance of the Dakota value system. Such an association indicates that the more the individual accepts the values of Dakota society along with Western values, the more likely he is to develop value conflicts which he attempts to resolve in marginal religious activities.

[203] $X^2=1.164$.
[204] $X^2=4.310$.

IV. Implications of the Study

In this attempt to describe the value system of the Dakota Indians and to suggest an explanation for reservation religious practices, a shift was noted from the traditional Dakota values to the modern values of Western Civilization. At present, most of the values of Dakota culture are still influential, and old Dakota practices have not completely vanished. But Western values are accepted with greater consensus than Dakota values, according to the expressed attitudes to the behavior which would follow from schedule questions.

Actual adherence to the norms of these values could only be checked by observation over an extended period of time. But this check was not feasible, nor did it come within the scope of this study. Assuming that the respondents did act according to their expressed values, it is likely that their behavior would be somewhat contradictory. For example, it is impossible to be generous in the old Dakota fashion and to conform at the same time to these norms of Western society dealing with economic competition and accumulation of wealth. Thus, we can speculate, these people in reservation communities find it easier to profess values than to act in accordance with these beliefs.

If a Dakota individual is faced with the problem of action on the basis of conflicting norms of behavior, he may become discouraged and develop attitudes of malaise or apathy. The sanctions of his traditional culture may begin to disintegrate under the influence of the coercive force of the new value system can entirely replace the old, the individual may find the old values destroyed. Thus he will flounder without the regulation of either society. This condition of lack of values, as has been indicated, is accompanied by a breakdown of the individual's sense of attachment to his own society. When this marginal position is found among a group of people of similar cultural traditions, the society itself becomes normless and marginal.

This study has revealed that the Dakota Indians have, to a large extent, lost the old system of social values which gave purpose and direction to their lives. Reactions to this state of affairs will vary for each individual from stubborn maintenance of traditional values to rejection of all Dakota values and full acceptance of non-Indian values. The assumption of positions at either extreme may provide a relatively stable personality adjustment. But the individual who vacillates between the two values systems is likely to search for some sources of meaning in group-approved and recognition-giving activities, such as are available in marginal religions.

No attempt has been made to reveal the extent of loss of values in the respondents or their society as a whole. It has been suggested that a transition has been taking place in the values which are vital to the continuation of the reservation communities. The decline in influence of old Dakota rules and beliefs has

invited disintegration of a formerly stable culture pattern. Because the values of generosity, integrity, courage, sociability, kinship, self-control and wisdom—all integral elements in the old social structure—no longer find complete expression in the present-day reservation culture, life for the Dakota people has lost meaning. But some remants of the old value system still persist in the sharing and sociability patterns of the marginal religions.

Since the Dakota people have been cut off from their traditional religion, they have not been able to replace this loss in conventional Christian denominations. The principal difficulty has been the relatively firm insistence of the churches on the virtues of the value system of Western civilization. To the Dakotas, however, Western values lack the vitality and meaning necessary to replace their traditional values. Superficial acceptance of non-Indian ideas of correct behavior is not strong enough to motivate them to pursue these norms in practice. Moreover, it is not uncommon for the older residents of reservation communities to reflect nostalgically on "better times" in the past. They feel that conditions have been getting worse for their people instead of better. Undoubtedly, this tendency to glorify the values of the old culture makes them reluctant to accept new values which seem to lack vitality in comparison with those which guided their lives in times past.

The statistical findings of this study can be summarized in a diagram indicating the theoretical relationships between the two sets of values. Acceptance of Western values (x) remains relatively unchanged no matter how many Dakota values are accepted. But acceptance of Dakota values (y) increases markedly with only a slight decrease in the number of Western values accepted. Value conflicts, measured by participation in marginal religious activities, had significantly greater probability of occurring when the individual accepted four or more Dakota values. This result, obtained from a limited sample in two communities on the Pine Ridge Reservation, supported the hypothesis of this study.

Present studies of social values are likely to be limited in scope, significance, and validity because of the difficulties inherent in the measurement of elusive attitudes, and so additional research would be highly desirable. Some areas which require study are: (1) value integration—relating more integrally ideational and behavioral phenomena; i.e., synthesizing what is believed with what is done; (2) value quantification—indicating some measurement of degree to which respondents adhere to Dakota and Western values; (3) value change—discovering the principles of culture which are directly related to change in values.

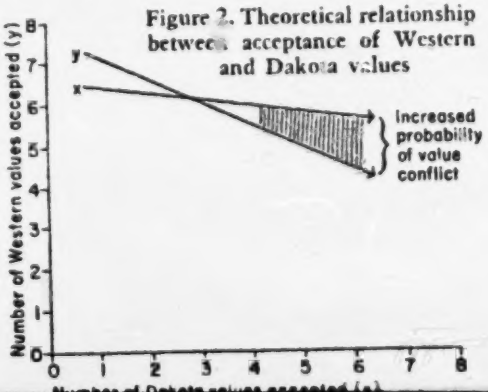

Figure 2. Theoretical relationship between acceptance of Western and Dakota values

Appendix I.

Old and New Moral Code

1. Do you feel that you should receive recognition from others when you give money or food or help to those who need it? ..... Yes, ... No.
2. If you were badly in need of food and someone gave you enough food for your own need, would you share it with other needy relatives? ..... Yes. ..... No.
3. Do you give away gifts in the name of your relatives or children when something special happens (e.g., when one marries or dies)? ..... Yes, ... No.
4. Do you believe in pledging a part of your income to the church and the work of the church? ..... Yes, ... No.
5. Would you say that your first responsibility is to see that your own family (i.e., your wife and children) is adequately clothed, fed and housed? ..... Yes, ... No.
6. Do you believe in saving money for emergencies? ..... Yes, ... No.
7. Do you think it shows a man's bravery when in battle a man becomes so bold as to touch an enemy (count coup)? ..... Yes, ... No.
8. Do you think a man is braver if he fights in the front lines in war rather than one who supplies those in the thickest fight? ..... Yes, ... No.
9. Do you feel that a person who lies about you should have it held against him for the rest of his life? ..... Yes, ... No.
10. If someone harmed a member of your family, would you forgive them without trying to get even? ..... Yes, ... No.
11. Do you think it is necessary for a man to bear pain himself as long as he can before he asks for help or relief from someone else (e.g., dancing with the thongs in one's flesh in the Sun Dance)? ..... Yes, ... No.
12. Do you think that the "hard times" on the reservation (such as poor living conditions, lack of food, or sickness) are something that must come to you to test your strength or endurance? ..... Yes, ... No.
13. Do you feel that an able-bodied man should maintain a regular job if it is at all possible? ..... Yes, ... No.
14. Do you think it is the parents' responsibility to keep their children busy and out of trouble? ..... Yes, ... No.
15. If you wanted wisdom would you fast and pray in order that it would come to you? ..... Yes, ... No.
16. If your child went against your wishes, would it help if you reasoned with him? Yes, ... No.
17. Which church do you go to? .....
18. Have you changed churches within the last year? ..... Yes, ... No.
19. Do you attend:

	Frequency
Sunday morning services	
Mass	
Prayer meetings	
Sunday School	
Special Services (e.g., Easter, Christmas, Weddings)	
Picnics, suppers, parties, etc.	
Benevolent drives by your church	
Guilds, circles, brotherhoods, youth groups	
Instruction classes	

20. Do your children attend?
    - Bible summer schools and camps .....
    - Instruction classes .....
21. Have you attended a:
    - Yuwipi meeting? ..... Yes, ... No. .....
    - Peyote meeting? ..... Yes, ... No. .....
22. Who would you go to for help when you are sick? .....
23. When you are in trouble or have a problem, who do you turn to for advice? .....

Appendix II.

Questions Based on Dakota Indian Value System

Question	Number of Respondents		
	Yes	No	No Response
Do you feel that you should receive recognition from others when you give money or food or help to those who need it?	17	18	2
If you were badly in need of food and someone gave you enough food for your own need, would you share it with other needy relatives?	26	10	1
Do you give away gifts in the name of your relatives or children when something special happens (e.g., when one marries or dies)?	30	7	0
Do you think it shows a man's bravery when in battle a man becomes so bold as to touch an enemy (count coup)?	13	14	8
Do you think a man is braver if he fights in the front lines in war rather than one who supplies those in the thickest fight?	18	11	8
Do you think it is necessary for a man to bear pain himself as long as he can before he asks for help or relief from someone else (e.g., dancing with the thongs in one's flesh in the Sun Dance)?	10	22	5
If you wanted wisdom would you fast and pray in order that it would come to you?	13	22	2

Appendix III.

Questions Based on Western Value Systems

Question	Number of Respondents		
	Yes	No	No Response
Do you believe in pledging a part of your income to the church and the work of the church?	35	1	1
Would you say that your first responsibility is to see that your own family (i.e., your wife and children) is adequately clothed, fed and housed?	35	0	2
Do you believe in saving money for emergencies?	36	1	0
Do you feel that a person who lies about you should have it held against him for the rest of his life?	8	26	3
If someone harmed a member of your family, would you forgive them without trying to get even?	31	4	2
Do you feel that an able bodied man should maintain a regular job if it is at all possible?	36	0	1
Do you think it is the parents' responsibility to keep their children busy and out of trouble?	32	0	4

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